Quarterly

Vol. X, Part I

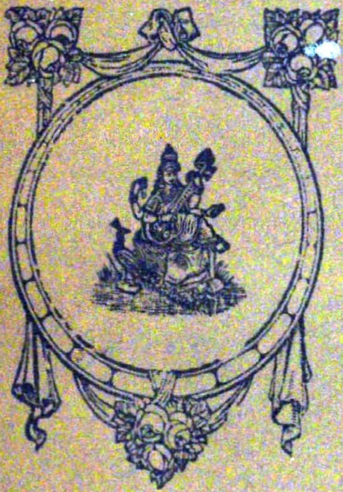
THE

# JOURNAL

OF

# ORIENTAL RESEARCH

## MADRAS



January—March

1936

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

MADRAS

PRINTED AT THE MADRAS LAW JOURNAL PRESS, MYLAPORE

1936

Annual subscription Inland, Rs. 6. Foreign, 10 sh.

Each part separately Rupees Two, Postage inclusive.

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MADRAS RECORD OFFICE
28 JUN 1936

# THE NUMBER OF RASAS.

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## I

For long, the Rasas were only eight in number. The text of the Nāṭya śāstra of Bharata originally spoke only of eight Rasas. For a long time, the poets also were speaking only of eight Rasas. Kālidāsa says in his Vikramorvaśīya:

मुनिना भरतेन यः प्रयोगो भवतीष्वष्टरसाश्रयो नियुक्तः ।
ललिताभिनयं तमद्य भर्ता मरुतां द्रष्टुमनाः सलोकपालः ॥ II, 18.

Vararuci's Ubhayābhisārikā has occasion to mention Rasas and their number. The - context is a dramatic contest. The Viṭa praises one of the courtezans who is going to enact 'Purandara-vijaya' in the temple of Indra at Kusumapura. Rasas are here mentioned as eight in number.

यस्यास्तावत् प्रथमं रूपश्रीनवयौवनद्युतिकान्त्यादीनां गुणानां सम्पत्, चतुर्विधाभिनयसिद्धिः, द्वात्रिंशद्विधो हस्तप्रचारः, अष्टादशविधं निरीक्षणम्, षट् स्थानानि, गतिद्वयम् (-त्रयम्), अष्टौ रसाः, त्रयो गीतवादित्रादिलयाः, इत्येवमादीनि नृत्ताङ्गानि त्वदाश्रयेण अलंकृतानि ।

p. 13, Caturbhāṇī, Madras.

On the side of the theorists, the writers on Poetics, Rasas were only eight upto the time of Daṇḍin who briefly describes and illustrates only the eight Rasas. Naturally, we suppose that Bhāmaha also knew only eight Rasas. These eight Rasas are thus given by Bharata:

शृङ्गार-हास्य-करुण-रौद्र-वीर-भयानकाः ।
बीभत्साद्भुत-संज्ञौ चेत्यष्टौ नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः ॥
एते ह्यष्टौ रसाः प्रोक्ता द्रुहिणेन महात्मना ॥

N. S. K. M. Edn. VI. 15-16.

And their Sthāyins are thus given:

रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च क्रोधोत्साहौ भयं तथा ।
जुगुप्सा विस्मयश्चेति स्थायिभावाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ *Ibid*. VI. 17.

We are unable to fix the exact significance of the record here made by Bharata that these are the eight Rasas expounded by the great Brahman. The mention of Brahman may after all refer only to the legendary back-ground which the Nāṭya śāstra has created for itself. The very first verse says to the effect that *almost* the first exponent of the Nāṭya śāstra is Brahman:

नाट्यशास्त्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि ब्रह्मणा यदुदाहृतम् । I. 1.

And this, Brahman himself learnt from Śiva. This legend is settled in later times and is mentioned by all writers. How far is this based on evidences within the Nāṭya śāstra itself?

To begin with, sage Bharata says that Brahman himself contemplated and created out of the four Vedas, the fifth Veda called the Nāṭya Veda. I. 16-19. Śiva is mentioned in the first chapter, for the first time, with reference to the Kaiśikī Vṛtti. Brahman says that the beautiful, graceful and delicate Kaiśikī cannot be properly presented by male actors, that it can be properly done only by actresses and that he has seen it depicted by only one among males, *viz.*, God Śiva. I. 45. We hear of Śiva again only in Ch. IV. The first drama 'Asuravijaya' or 'Amṛtamathana' was enacted before an audience of Devas and Asuras in Devaloka during the Indradhvaja festival. I. 54-57.

तदन्तेऽनुकृतिर्बद्धा यथा दैत्याः सुरैर्जिताः ।

After this Samavakāra, the first drama to be staged, was finished, Brahman one day took Bharata and his troupe to Kailasa to give a performance before God Śiva. This Samavakāra, and a Ḍima called Tripuradāha, on one of Śiva's own exploits, were staged there. IV. 5-10. After the drama was finished, Śiva praised Brahman and the actors and told them that the beautiful and varied Karaṇas and Aṅgahāras of the Tāṇḍava dance which He himself did every evening might be introduced into the Pūrvaraṅga of their drama, so that their plain (Śuddha) Pūrvaraṅga might become a Citrapūrvaraṅga. IV. 11-15. He called upon one of his Gaṇas, Taṇḍu, to teach Bharata the Aṅgahāras and Karaṇas of Tāṇḍava. IV. 17-18. Thus Śiva is the God of dance proper, while Brahman himself created Drama and won Śiva's credential for his creation of this art. Bharata is the first artiste whom Brahman chose for the exposition of the art that he created. Brahman's creation of the art of Drama referred to all parts of it,

the text of the drama, the acting of it, the music that supported the performance and finally the Rasa which the above three evoked in the hearts of the audience. This is the meaning of the verse:

जग्राह पाठ्यमृग्वेदात् सामभ्यो गीतमेव च ।
यजुर्वेदादभिनयान् रसानाथर्वणादपि ॥

The story given above points to the historical fact that Dance existed first and that Drama was then created. Taṇḍu signifies the link between the two. The gods of the two, Dance and Drama, are Śiva and Brahman. So it is that Bharata, who represents the operatic dance-drama, says at the beginning—

प्रणम्य शिरसा देवौ पितामहमहेश्वरौ ।

and Abhinava adds here, in his commentary—

"एको (ब्रह्मा) विजिगीषुर्नाट्यप्रवर्तयितेति देवः । भगवांस्तु आनन्दनिर्भरतया क्रीडाशीलः सन्ध्यादौ नृत्यतीति नाट्ये तदुपस्कारिणि च नृत्ते तदुपज्ञं प्रवृत्तिरिति तावेवात्र अधिदैवतं गुरू चेति नमस्कार्यौ ।"

p. 2, Gaek. Edn. Vol. I.

Thus Śiva's contribution is Dance which served to beautify Drama—तदुपस्कारिणि च नृत्ते. Brahman's contribution itself was self-sufficient for Drama. He spoke of Text, Action, Music and Rasa. It is to this part of the Drama of Brahman that Bharata refers in Ch. VI, when he says that these are the eight Rasas *spoken of by Brahman.*

एते ह्यष्टौ रसाः प्रोक्ता द्रुहिणेन महात्मना ।

It is on this text that Śāradātanaya relies when he says that, according to Brahman, Rasas are only eight, and the ninth, the Śānta, is impossible.

............तस्माच्छान्तस्य नोद्भवः ।
तस्मान्नाट्यरसा अष्टाविति पद्मभुवो मतम् ॥ Bhā. Pra. II, pp. 46-7.

These bits of legend have to be connected with some facts available to us, *viz.*, that there are really big works on Nāṭya which are current as works of Śiva or Sadāśiva and Brahman. Says Mr. M. R. Kavi in his Introduction to his edition of the N. S. with the Abhi. Bhā. in the Gaek. Series:—"We have fragments of both Brahmabharata and Sadāśivabharata." Abhinava himself refers to the triple authority of Sadāśiva, Brahman and Bharata.

"एतेन सदाशिवब्रह्मभरतमतत्रयविवेचनेन ब्रह्ममतसारताप्रतिपादनाय etc."

p. 8.

The upshot of the discussion here gives the noteworthy fact that, of the three works Sadāśiva Bharata, Brahma Bharata and Bharata's Nāṭya śāstra, the Brahma Bharata is the best and most important according to some. The Daśarūpakārikās, IV. 38 and 39, proving Rasa to be Sāmājikāśraya, are quoted and attributed to Sadāśiva by Śāradātanaya. Bhā. Pra. VI. p. 152. This ascription does not seem to be reliable. The argumentative style of the Kārikās argue for a later writer. Whether this particular ascription be true or not, it can be accepted that old works in the name of Sadāśiva and Brahman exist. Though from the internal evidence of the Nāṭya śāstra of Bharata we know of Śiva as having contributed Dance only, there may be a Sadāśiva Bharata dealing with all departments of Nāṭya. It is also likely that this Sadāśiva Bharata is of special importance for its chapters on Dance, on Tāṇḍava, its Karaṇas and Aṅgahāras.

Similarly Taṇḍu, who, in the Nāṭya śāstra, simply passes the Tāṇḍava from Śiva to Bharata, may have some old Nāṭya work to his credit. There is some difficulty in understanding the name Taṇḍu. In Ch. I, we hear of a Taṇḍu who is one of the hundred sons of Bharata. (I. 26.) From Ch. IV, we know him as belonging to Śiva's camp. In Ch. I, 26, the text has a variant. (p. 18, Gaek. edn. fn.) Tāṇḍya and in Ch. IV. 17 and 18, we have the variant Tāṇḍin. (p. 90, Gaek. edn. fn.) Abhinava says that the reading 'Taṇḍu' is appropriate, in view of that word's suitability to the derivation of the word Tāṇḍava.

"सर्वत्र पाठे तण्डुशब्द एव युक्तः, ताण्डवशब्दव्युत्पत्तिवशात् ।"

p. 90, Gaek. Edn. Vol. I.

It looks as if 'Taṇḍu' was created out of the word Tāṇḍava. Surely, this Tāṇḍava was being done by Śiva before Taṇḍu, on Śiva's bidding, taught it to Bharata. Therefore, the name Tāṇḍava could not have been the name given to the dance subsequent to Taṇḍu imparting it to Bharata. In this connection, the text of Abhinava's commentary seems to say that this Taṇḍu is none else than Nandin, the chief attendant of Śiva. We find in Mr. M. R. Kavi's Edn. Vol. I, p. 90: 'तण्डुमुनिशब्दौ (नन्दिभर) तयोरपरनामनी ।' But in the MS of the Abhinavabhāratī in the Madras Govt. Oriental MSS Library, we find the passage running thus:

'तण्डुमुनिशब्दौ तस्येरेव (?) नामनि (नी)' । Vol. I, 68.

and it is rather difficult to reconstruct or understand this text. There does not seem to be unanimity among writers regarding the identity of Taṇḍu and Nandin. The Śabdakalpadruma says that, according to Halāyudha, Taṇḍu is a door-keeper of Śiva,—Śivadvārapālaviśeṣa. The Vācaspatya says the same thing and adds that it is a name of Nandikeśvara 'शिवद्वारपालविशेषे, नन्दिकेश्वरे । 'नन्दी भृङ्गिरिटिस्तण्डुः' ।[1] In the Śabdakalpadruma, we find that according to the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, the other names of Nandikeśvara are Nandī, Śālaṅkāyana and *Tāṇḍavatālika*, and that according to Hemacandra, the other names are Nandī and *Taṇḍu*. Keśava's Kalpadrukośa (Gaek. edn. p. 392, Śl. 117-8) gives Nandin, Śālaṅkāyana, *Tāṇḍavatālika*, *Taṇḍu*, Kelīkila and Kūṣmāṇḍaka as the other names of Nandikeśvara. If Taṇḍu were a name of Nandikeśvara, he would be both the time-keeper for Śiva's Tāṇḍava (ताण्डवतालिक) and the promulgator of the Tāṇḍava (तण्डुना प्रोक्तं ताण्डवम्). But, according to Sarvānanda and Bharatamallika, the person who is responsible for the Śāstra through which Tāṇḍava got its name, is a *sage* (Muni) named Tāṇḍa or Tāṇḍya. And Taṇḍu whom Śiva asked to teach the Tāṇḍava to Bharata may not be Nandikeśvara but may be some other Gaṇa of Śiva. Ratnākara's Haravijaya, which is a store-house of information for the Nāṭya-researcher, mentions Nandīśa and Taṇḍu

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1. The explanation of Tāṇḍava by Taṇḍu is not the only explanation. Bhānuji and Kṣīrasvāmin, in their commentaries on the Amarakośa (Nāṭya varga, Śl. 10) give Tāṇḍava as being so called after its exponent, Taṇḍu. Bharata (com. on Amara) says that the *sage* Tāṇḍa (not Nandikeśvara, a Śivagaṇa) promulgated the Śāstra which came to be called after him 'Tāṇḍi' (Neuter); and from this Tāṇḍi is Tāṇḍava derived. 'ताण्डेन कृतं ताण्डि, नृत्यशास्त्रम्, तदस्यास्तीति भरतः (अमरटीकायाम्)।' See the Śabdakalpadruma and Vācaspatya on Tāṇḍava. Sarvānanda's Ṭīkāsarvasva, p. 41, T. S. S. edn. pt. 1. **ताण्ड्येन मुनिना** प्रोक्तं * * * ताण्डि नृत्यशास्त्रम् । तदस्यास्तीति ताण्डवम् । To these derivations, Subhūticandra adds 'तण्डते (तण्ड्यते) भूरनेनेति ताण्डवम् ।' Tāṇḍava is so called because, being a forceful dance (Uddhata), earth is stamped heavily in it. Vidyāvinoda Nārāyaṇa gives all these explanations. Rāyamukuṭa gives Sarvānanda's and Svāmin's explanation and adds: "तडिघातोः ताण्डवमिति तु कौमुदी ।

as two different persons and the commentator, Rājānaka Alaka, adds that Taṇḍu is one of the Pramathagaṇas of Śiva.

नन्दीशनिर्दयकराहतपुष्करेषु मन्द्रं ध्वनत्सु मुरजेषु विभज्य तण्डुः ।
आसारितेषु परिकल्पितसप्तभेदपर्याप्तशोभमथ ताण्डवमभ्यगायत् ॥

N. S. Edn. II. 20.

Com. तण्डुनामा प्रमथः । ताण्डवं नाम गीतकम् आत्मप्रोक्तम् अभ्यगायत्[1]॥

p. 21.

From this it would appear that Nandin is the drummer and Taṇḍu the singer of the libretto for Śiva's dance. Abhinava gives an extract from Kohala also on p. 182 (Gaek. edn. Vol. I) having some bearing on Taṇḍu and Tāṇḍava.

The name Nandin is found twice in the Nāṭya śāstra, IV. 260 and 261, in connection with the Piṇḍībandhas. More than one work on Nāṭya have come down to us as the work of Nandikeśvara. Rājaśekhara ascribes the first treatment of Rasa to Nandikeśvara and the first treatment of Drama to Bharata.

"—रूपकनिरूपणीयं भरतः, रसाधिकारिकं नन्दिकेश्वरः— ।"

p. 1, K. M. Gaek. Edn.

The chief ground on which Rājaśekhara foists the first treatment of Rasa on Nandikeśvara is the record made by Vātsyāyana in his Kāma sūtra, I. 1-8, that Nandikeśvara is the first author on Kāma. Love may be taken to be indicative of the other Rasas and further, it is the most important of the emotions which form the material for literature. Śāradātanaya relates a Rasa-legend in Ch. 3. of his Bhāvaprakāśa in which Nandin figures and which legend he ascribes to Vyāsa. 'व्यासप्रोक्तेन मार्गेण कथयामि यथार्थतः ।' We do not yet know of a work of Vyāsa on Nāṭya. The legend given in the Bhāvaprakāśa is this: Brahman created the worlds at Śiva's bidding and then contemplated upon the past and saw with his mind's eye the doings of Śiva. Nandikeśvara appeared before Brahman at that time and taught him Nāṭya and asked

1. Tāṇḍava thus originally meant the song, to the accompaniment of which Śiva danced; the dance then came to be called Tāṇḍava after its song. Such instances of dances getting their names from the songs, the Tāla of the song etc., are common. *Cf.* Carcarī is a Tāla, a musical composition, a dance and also a spring festival in which the Carcarī is danced. (The Ratnāvalī, I.) *Cf.* Jatisvara, Varṇa, Pada, etc. in the modern South Indian Nautch, which names of musical compositions serve as names of the dance items also.

him to teach the art to the Bharatas, *i.e.*, actors. Brahman created the art of representation, drama, with a past story of Śiva called Tripuradāha, a Ḍima. The Bharatas staged this Tripuradāha and while Brahman was witnessing it, there came forth from his four faces four Vṛttis with the four Rasas, Śṛṅgāra, Vīra, Raudra and Bībhatsa. Concluding this story of Rasotpatti, Śāradātanaya says:

व्यक्ता मुखेभ्यश्चोत्पन्ना इत्यूचुः शंकरादयः ।

The Śaṅkara mentioned here is another puzzle.[1] Śāradātanaya brings Nārada also into the story and says that Nārada expounded this Rasotpatti to Bharata, the sage. (p. 58, Ch. III.) The two Guruparamparās found here are 'Śiva-Nandin-Brahman-the Bharatas' and 'Nārada-Bharata, the sage'. In Ch. 10, Śāradātanaya gives another story of how Nāṭya came to earth from heaven, where also the former Guru-paramparā is given. The actors, the Bharatas, are sent to this world and they write treatises on the art.

नाट्यवेदाच्च भरताः सारमुद्धृत्य सर्वतः ।
संग्रहं सुप्रयोगार्हं मनुना प्रार्थिता व्यधुः ॥
एकं द्वादशसाहस्रैः श्लोकैरेकं तदर्धतः ।
षड्भिः श्लोकसहस्रैर्यो नाट्यवेदस्य संग्रहः ॥

Bhā. Pra. Gaek. Edn. p. 287.

The Bharatas wrote two works, one in 12000 Ślokas and another in 6000 Ślokas. The basis of these two is the Nāṭyaveda which is perhaps double the extent of the first of these two. The second work in 6000 verses is the present Nāṭya śāstra of Bharata and the Daśarūpakāvaloka quotes it by the name, Ṣaṭsahasrī. "षट्सहस्रीकृताप्युक्तम्—'एभ्यश्च सामान्यगुणयोगेन रसा निष्पद्यन्ते' इति ।" IV. (*Vide* Bharata's N. S. VII, p. 80, Kāśī Edn.) Bahurūpamiśra has quoted the former work in 12000 verses, the Dvādaśasāhasrī, in his gloss on the Daśarūpaka.[2] Mr. M. R. Kavi quotes the

1. Śaṅkara may mean Śiva himself and this would mean then that the Sadāśiva Bharata is the source of this story. A Śaṅkara is cited in Pārśvadeva's Saṅgītasamayasāra, T. S. S. Edn. p. 42.

सकलं निष्कलं चेति वाद्यमेतत् द्विधा भवेत् ।
कथितं शंकरेणेदम् एकतन्त्रीसमाश्रयम् ॥

2. *Vide* J. O. R., Madras, Vol. VIII, pp. 329-330, my article on Bahurūpamiśra's commentary on the Daśarūpaka.

Yāmalāṣṭakatantra in the preface to his edition of the Nāṭya-śāstra (Vol. I, p. 6, fn. 1.), according to which the Nāṭya veda, which Śāradātanaya mentions as the basis of the two Saṅgrahas, is a work in 36000 Ślokas. Which of these two, the Nāṭya veda and the Dvādaśasāhasrī, is the work of Śiva and which, of Brahman cannot be said easily. The latter may be the Brahma-bharata referred to by Abhinava. What these works say on Rasa, we are not in a position to know.

The only work we have is the Ṣaṭsahasrī of Bharata, the Nāṭyaśāstra, which says that according to Brahman, Rasas are eight. Śāradātanaya fashions this text into the form of a later controversial text, and makes Padmabhū (Brahman) refute the Śānta and accept only eight Rasas. We can conjecture safely that both the Sadāśivabharata and the Brahmabharata knew only eight Rasas.

Was there any old work which expounded nine Rasas? When did the Śānta first make its appearance? Just after giving the above-noticed view of Padmabhū that Rasas are only eight, Śāradātanaya gives another account which he attributes to Vāsuki. There seems to be, from the following verse, an old work in which Vāsuki imparts the Nāṭyaśāstra to Nārada.

उत्पत्तिस्तु रसानां या पुरा वासुकिनोदिता ।
नारदस्योच्यते सैषा प्रकारान्तरकल्पिता ॥ Bhā. Pra., p. 46.

The Śānta Rasa is accepted in this account.

रजस्तमोविहीनात्तु सत्त्वावस्थात् सचित्ततः ।
मनागस्पृष्टबाह्यार्थात् शान्तो रस इतीरितः ॥ II, p. 48.

Who is this Vāsuki? We already know of two serpents among Saṅgītācāryas, Kambala and Aśvatara and we must add to them this Nāṭyācārya Vāsuki. Śāradātanaya quotes Vāsuki earlier also (pp. 36-37) regarding the rise of Rasa from Bhāvas.

नानाद्रव्यौषधैः पाकैः व्यञ्जनं भाव्यते यथा ।
एवं भावा भावयन्ति रसानभिनयैः सह ।
इति वासुकिनाप्युक्तो भावेभ्यो रससंभवः ॥

This verse is, as pointed out by the editor of the Bhāvaprakāśa, found in the Nāṭya śāstra of Bharata, quoted along with four other verses, with the words— 'भवन्ति चात्र श्लोकाः ।'[1] If we are

1. Thus, there are Anuṣṭubh and Āryā verses quoted by Bharata. These are called Ānuvaṁśya verses, handed down as

to rely on Śāradātanaya, we have to suppose that the Rasa chapters in Bharata are based on the texts of Vāsuki and others and that this Vāsuki accepted a ninth Rasa, namely, the Śānta. Why then does Bharata's text not mention the Śānta? If Bharata did not approve of Śānta being a Rasa, he must refute it, citing Vāsuki's position. When no such controversy is seen in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, we have to conclude that Śāradātanaya has only increased the confusion here, as on other topics also.

If we are to attach any weight to the statement of another late writer Dharmasūri, author of the Sāhityaratnākara, we have to suppose that Kohala is, like Vāsuki, another old writer who accepted the Śānta Rasa. He says regarding the Sthāyin of Śānta—

"कोहलस्तु उत्साहो वा निर्वेदो वा शमो वा अस्य स्थायीत्युवाच ।"

*Vide* D. T. Tātācārya, J. O. R., Vol. V, p. 29.

If Kohala had accepted Śānta, Abhinava and other champions of Śānta would have quoted him. Dharmasūri's reference to Kohala is unreliable. But it is also likely that a late work falsely ascribed to Kohala speaks of the Śānta and Dharmasūri bases his statement on such a pseudo-Kohala work.

The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata itself recognised only eight Rasas. Subsequently, when the Śānta was accepted by writers, the text of the N. S. was changed and read thus as indicated by Abhinava:

शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणाः रौद्रवीरभयानकाः ।
बीभत्साद्भुतशान्ताश्च नव नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः ॥ N. S. VI. 16.
रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च क्रोधोत्साहौ भयं तथा ।
जुगुप्साविस्मयशमाः स्थायिभावाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ N. S. VI. 18.

"शान्तापलापिनस्त्वत्र अष्टाविति पठन्ति ।"

"तत्र शान्तस्य स्थायी 'विस्मयशमाः' इति कैश्चित् पठितः ।" *Ibid.*

Udbhaṭa recognises the Śānta as can be seen from his Kāvyālaṅkārasārasaṅgraha. He is thus the first commentator on the

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basic and authoritative texts on Nāṭya written by other writers. The definite authorship of these Anuṣṭubhs and Āryās is not known. Abhinava says while commenting on one set of such Ānuvaṁśya Āryas, on p. 328: "ता एता ह्यार्याः एकप्रघट्टकतया पूर्वाचार्यैः लक्षणत्वेन पठिताः । मुनिना तु सुखसंग्रहाय यथास्थानं निवेशिताः ।"

N. S. and the first Ālaṅkārika now known to have definitely begun to speak of Rasas as nine in number. So, he must have made the necessary alteration in the text of the Nāṭyaśāstra as above shown and as pointed out by Abhinava.

Regarding this subject of Śānta Rasa, the following questions arise:—

i. Did Bharata recognise it? What are the arguments of those who hold that Bharata recognises it? What is the real position of Bharata in respect of Śānta?

ii. Who is the first writer who introduced the Śānta Rasa? What was that condition in the world of letters that led to the postulation of Śānta?

iii. Independent of Bharata accepting it or not, what is Śānta? Can it be a Rasa? What are the arguments of the opponents of Śānta?

iv. What is the criticism of those who not only accept but praise the Śānta as the greatest Rasa? Who are these writers? What are the literary compositions that have proved the possibility of the Śānta Rasa?

v. Who are those who, unable to find fault with Śānta, make a compromise, deny it in Nāṭya and accept it in Kāvya only? What are their arguments and how are they met?

vi. Who are the writers who do not accept the Śānta anywhere?

vii. What is the Sthāyin of Śānta?

These questions will be dealt with in the following section.

*(To be continued.)*

# ON THE GRAMMATICAL WORK SI-T'AN-CHANG

BY

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In Chap. 34 of his *Record of Buddhist Practices*, I-tsing says first (p. 170 of Takakusu's English translation published at Oxford in 1896) that there are five works on Sanskrit Grammar, similar to the Five Classics of the Divine Land (*i. e.*, China), and then gives their titles and description as follows:

1. Si-t'an-chang (Siddha-composition) for beginners. Children learn this book when they are six years old and finish it in six months.

2. The Sūtra of Pāṇini, inspired by Maheśvara and containing 1000 ślokas. Children begin to learn this when they are eight years old and can repeat it in eight months' time.

3. The Book on Dhātu containing 1000 ślokas.

4. The Book on the Three Khilas, comprising (a) Aṣṭadhātu which contains 1000 ślokas and treats of the seven cases, ten *las* (ल) and eighteen *tiṅs* (तिङ्) (b) Wen-ch'a (Maṇḍa or Muṇḍa) which treats of the formation of words (like *vṛkṣa*) by combining roots with a suffix or suffixes, and which contains more than 1000 ślokas, and (c) the Uṇādi, of similar nature to the above, and containing 1000 ślokas. Boys begin to learn the Book on the Three Khilas when they are ten years old and understand it thoroughly after three years' diligent study.

5. The Vṛtti-sūtra containing 18000 ślokas and written by Jayāditya. It is a commentary on the foregoing Sūtra (*i. e.*, Pāṇini's Sūtra). Boys of fifteen begin to study this commentary and understand it after five years.

Of these, the Vṛtti-sūtra, it has long been recognised, is the Kāśikā-vṛtti of Jayāditya and Vāmana (*see* now in this connection the very apposite remarks of Liebich in Appendix III to his edition of the *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī*, p. 283), and the Sūtra, the Vyākaraṇa-sūtra of Pāṇini. The Book on Dhātu is, as pointed out by Liebich (p. 282, *op. cit.*), without doubt Pāṇini's Dhātupāṭha with a short commentary similar in character to that of Kṣīra-

svāmin or Maitreyarakṣita, while the Book on the Three Khilas was a treatise that dealt respectively with (1) noun- and verb-inflection, (2) primary (and secondary ?) noun-building, and (3) uṇādi suffixes.

Regarding the first-named work, Si-t'an-chang, the full description of it given by I-tsing reads as follows (pp. 170-172):

"I. The Si-t'an-chang (Siddha-composition) for beginners. This is also called Siddhirastu, signifying 'Be there success' (Ch. lit. 'complete be good luck') for so named is the first section of this small (book of) learning.

"There are forty-nine letters (of the alphabet) which are combined with one another and arranged in eighteen sections; the total number of syllables is more than 10,000, or more than 300 ślokas. Generally speaking, each śloka contains four feet (pādas), each foot consisting of eight syllables; each śloka has therefore thirty-two syllables. Again there are long and short ślokas; of these it is impossible here to give a minute account.

"Children learn this book when they are six years old, and finish it in six months. This is said to have been originally taught by Maheśvara-deva (Śiva)".

This Si-t'an-chang was identified with the Śiva-sūtras by the late Prof. F. Max Muller in a paper that appeared originally in *The Academy* of September 25 and October 2, 1880 and was published in a revised form in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX, pp. 305 ff. In this paper, Max Muller gives a résumé of the contents of Chap. 34 of I-tsing's *Record* based on the translation of Kasawara, and writes thus on p. 307 of the latter journal:

"He [I-tsing] gives the name *Vyākaraṇa*, grammar, and then proceeds to speak of five works, generally called grammar in India.

"I. The first is called elementary *siddhānta*, and begins with *siddhirastu*. It was originally taught by Mahēśvara; and is learnt by heart by children when they are six years old. They learn it in six months.

"Most likely this refers to the Śiva Sūtras, granted by the favour of Mahēśvara. But from the description given, the *siddhānta* must have contained much more than the fourteen Śiva Sūtras."

This opinion, however, did not commend itself to the late Prof. Kielhorn who, with reference to the above-cited observation

of Max Muller, wrote thus in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XII, p. 226, n. 2): "In the first work mentioned by I-tsing, the elementary *Siddhānta*, I would recognise a kind of *Lipi-* or *Mātṛkā-viveka*, similar to the one of Kṣemendraśarman, which teaches the letters, their combinations, the organs with which they are pronounced, etc. I think I am right in stating that both in Brāhmanical and Jaina indigenous schools the first thing children learn is the phrase ओं नमः सिद्धम् ".

This view of Kielhorn was adopted by Max Muller himself in his subsequently-published book, *India, what can it teach us*, where he wrote (*see* Vol. XIII of Collected Works of Max Muller, edition of 1916, p. 211): "I-tsing then gives a short account of the system of education. Children, he says, learn the forty-nine letters and the 10,000 compound letters when they are six years old, and generally finish them in half a year. This corresponds to about 300 verses, each śloka of thirty-two syllables". It was likewise adopted by the late Prof. Buhler also; *see* Takakusu's note 2 in his translation of I-tsing, p. 170. *See also* Buhler's *On the Origin of the Indian Brāhmi Alphabet* (Strassburg, 1898), pp. 30 and 122.

A similar opinion seems to have been held by Kaśyapa who has written a commentary on I-tsing's work, and the authors of the Japanese works *The Eighteen Sections of the Siddha* (written in A.D. 1566) and *Siddhapiṭaka* or *Siddhakośa* (A.D. 880), who are mentioned by Takakusu on p. 170 (n. 3), *op. cit.* Takakusu, however, is not satisfied that this opinion is correct, and therefore observes there: "Still it is not safe to conclude anything from these points. I-tsing may be referring to the Śiva-sūtra".

This conjecture is quite untenable. For, though it is true that the Śiva-sūtra was originally given out by Maheśvara, it does not begin with *siddhir-astu* or *siddha;* it consists of fourteen sections only and not eighteen, and contains, not 300 ślokas but 43 akṣaras or less than two ślokas. Moreover, it does not require a period of six months for a boy of six years to master it.

Prof. Liebich, in my opinion, has done right, therefore, in rejecting (*op. cit.*, p. 281) this opinion of Takakusu. Liebich's opinion is the same as that of Kielhorn, Buhler, etc., and he writes there about the *Si-t'an-chang*: "Evidently an ABC. book for teaching, reading and writing; it is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang also (I. 166)".

About the identification of the book mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, I shall speak later. It is enough to observe here that the only details given by him concerning that work are (1) that it contains twelve chapters, and (2) that, to educate and encourage the young, they are first taught to study that book (*see* Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I, p. 78). Of the *Si-t'an-chang* mentioned in I-tsing's *Record*, however, it has been said that (1) it is a book on grammar; (2) it is read by beginners; (3) it was originally taught by Maheśvara; (4) it is 300 ślokas in extent; (5) it contains 18 sections; and (6) it is usually learnt in six months.

These details, clearly, do not fit a *mātṛkā-viveka* or Sanskrit ABC. book. (1) In the first place, a *mātṛkā-viveka* or syllabary does not at all form part of Sanskrit Grammar. In Europe, it is true, orthography, etymology, syntax and prosody form the four divisions of grammar in many countries. In Sanskrit, however, prosody is dealt with by a different science, *Chandaś-śāstra*, while orthography or proper writing is regarded as an accomplishment quite distinct from the knowledge of grammar, and as not lying in the province of that science. Compare, for instance, the following passages from the *Lalita-vistara* (Mitra's edition, p. 178), *Kādambarī* (Peterson's edition, p. 75) and *Daśa-kumāracarita* (Buhler's edition, p. 11) which state that the princes *Siddhārtha*, *Candrāpīḍa* and *Rājavāhana* became proficient in 'writing' and also in 'Grammar':

> lipi-mudrā-gaṇanā-saṅkhyā-sālambha-dhanurvedeṣu . . . vyākaraṇe nirukte śikṣāyām . . . ity-evam-ādyāsu sarva-karma-kalāsu Bodhisattva eva viśiṣyate sma;
>
> Candrāpīḍaḥ . . . pade [=vyākaraṇe] vākye pramāṇe . . . sarva-lipiṣu . . . anyeṣvapi kalā-viśeṣeṣu param kauśalam avāpa;
>
> Rājavāhanaḥ . . . sakala-lipijñānaṃ nikhila-deśīya-bhāṣā-pāṇḍityaṃ . . . ṣaḍ-aṅga-sahita-veda-samudāya-kovidatvaṃ . . . dharma-śabda [=vyākaraṇa]-jyotis-tarka-mīmāṁsādi-samasta-śāstra-cāturyam . . . tattad-ācārye-bhyaḥ samyag labdhvā.

(2) Nowhere do we hear of a tradition that the Sanskrit alphabet in its usual sequence ( a ā i ī, etc.,) was originally given out by Maheśvara.[1] (3) The number of akṣaras contained in a *mātṛkā-*

1. On the other hand, Indian tradition attributes the invention of the alphabet to Brahmā; compare p. 25 of Buhler's above-

*viveka* (*i.e.*, the number of the original letters of the alphabet, added to that of the combinations of the simple and conjunct consonants with a, ā, i, ī, . . aṃ, aḥ) does not at any time approach the total of 300 ślokas or 9600 syllables[1]. (4) There are not 18 sections in a *mātṛkā-viveka;* and (5) it does not require six months, even for children of six years' age, to master a *mātṛkā-viveka*.

It thus becomes plain that the details mentioned by I-tsing do not fit a *mātṛkā-viveka*, and that, hence, the identification by Buhler, Kielhorn, etc. of the *Si-t'an-chang* mentioned in I-tsing's *Record* with one, is incorrect.

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cited book and the passages from the Nārada-smṛti (written before A. D. 600) and Bṛhaspati-smṛti referred to there which state that "the Creator (Brahmā) created writing in order to keep the affairs of the world in their proper course".

Hiuen Tsang similarly writes (Beal, Si-yu-ki, I, 77) that the letters of the Indian alphabet 'were arranged by Brahma-deva'. Compare also the observation, "Being thus declared by Brahmarāja, therefore men call it *Fan*, or Brahmā, writing" in *The Life of Hiuen Tsang* (Beal's translation, p. 121). *See also* the observations of Dr. von Rosthorn in WZKM, 10,281 and of Thomas Watters on p. 153 of his *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I.

There can be no doubt that I-tsing was acquainted with this tradition, though he does not mention it in his *Record*.

In the last-mentioned book, Watters has pointed out that some Chinese Buddhist works ascribe the invention of letters to Śiva. These works are all posterior to I-tsing, and their statement is based, without doubt, on the above-cited one of I-tsing in the *Record* about the Si-t'an-chang, which these writers regarded erroneously as an ABC. book.

According to Liebich (his edition of Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī, p. 281), I-tsing's observation, "this is said to have been originally taught by Maheśvara-deva", is the result of his confounding the Śiva-sūtra with the *brahma-rāśi* on account of the similarity of their contents. This opinion is quite unfounded, and I cannot subscribe to it.

1. The *Siddhakośa* or *Siddha-piṭaka* mentioned above (A. D. 880) is an ABC. book and professes to contain 16,550 characters. In reality, the number of characters it contains is 6613 only according to the counting of Prof. Takakusu. *See* his translation of I-tsing's *Record*, p. 170, n. 3.

It is also equally plain that the work referred to by I-tsing is Śarvavarman's *Kātantra-vyākaraṇa* and that the above-cited description of it given in the *Record* is very appropriate:

(1) The *Kātantra* is, without doubt, a work on Sanskrit Grammar.

(2) It is a book intended for beginners.

(3) It was usually mastered in six months. Read in this connection the story related in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (taraṅga 6, 7) about the origin of the *Kātantra*. Śarvavarman, it is said in this story, made a bet that he would teach Sanskrit Grammar to King Sātavāhana and make him proficient in it, within the period of six months, and he won it.[1]

Though the Kathāsaritsāgara was written in the eleventh century A. D., its source, the Kashmirian version of the Bṛhatkathā, was written, according to Felix Lacote (*Essai sur Guṇā-*

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1. Compare verses 141—146 and 163.

evaṃ niveditas-svapne Śarvavarmaṇi tat-kṣaṇam |
māṃ asta-maunaḥ sākūtam avadat Sātavāhanaḥ || 141 ||
śikṣamāṇaḥ prayatnena kālena kiyatā pumān |
adhigacchati pāṇḍityam etan me kathyatāṃ tvayā || 142 ||
mama tena vinā hy eṣā lakṣmīr na pratibhāsate |
vibhavaiḥ kiṃ nu mūrkhasya kāṣṭhasyābharaṇair iva ||143||
tato 'ham avadaṃ rājan varṣair dvādaśabhiḥ sadā |
jñāyate sarva-vidyānāṃ mukhaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ naraiḥ||144||
ahaṃ tu śikṣayāmi tvāṃ varṣa-ṣaṭkena tad vibho |
śrutvaitat sahasā serṣyaṃ Śarvavarmā kilāvadat || 145 ||
sukhocito janaḥ kleśaṃ kathaṃ kuryād iyac ciram |
tad ahaṃ māsa-ṣaṭkena deva tvāṃ śikṣayāmi tat || 146 ||
. . . . . . . . .
āgatya Śarvavarmātha Kumāra-vara-siddhimān |
cintitopasthitā rājñe sarvā vidyāḥ pradattavān || 163 ||

It will be seen that, while v. 146 relates that Śarvarman promises to make the king proficient in Sanskrit Grammar within six months, v. 163 relates that he made the king proficient in all sciences (*sarvā vidyāḥ*) in that period. This, however, is plainly the result of a later recasting of the original story.

This story is related in Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī also (canto 3) which speaks in both places (in the beginning and end) of learning in general. The period of six months is mentioned in this work also in 3, 45:

*tato 'bravīc Charvavarmā māsaiḥ ṣaḍbhir bahu-śrutam |*
*ahaṃ nṛpaṃ kariṣyāmi viśrāmyantu bhavad-vidhāḥ. ||*

*ḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, p. 144) in A. D. 600-800 (*see* Liebich's edition of the Kātantra, p. 4); and the above related story itself must have been current before 600 A. D.

(4) In the Kathāsaritsāgara story referred to above, it is related that Śarvavarman, in order to win his bet, propitiated God Kumāra with his austerities and obtained the *Kātantra* from him. According to another account, however, recorded by Vanamāli-dvija in his *Kalāpa-vyākaraṇotpatti-prastāva*, it was Śiva whom Śarvavarman pleased with his austerities, and who ordered Kumāra to teach the *Kātantra* to him. Compare the following passage from the above-named work, which is cited on p. 29 of Haraprasāda Śāstri's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Second Series*, Vol. 3:

> āsīt purā Sātavāhano nāma rājā | sa kadācit mahādevyā saha sarasi vihartuṃ gatavān | tatrāsau mahiṣīṃ prati prītiparāyatto jalotsekaṃ kurvann atiśaya-jala-plāvitayā mahādevyā "modakaṃ dehi rājan" iti punaḥ-punar vyāhṛto bahuśo mahiṣīṃ prītim icchan modakaṃ dattavān | tena ca tayā 'ti-nirbhayam ati-niṣṭhuraṃ nirbhartsito rājā 'mā udakaṃ dehī' - iti prakṛtaṃ artham ananusaran nitarāṃ lajjāparavaśo jīvitam utsraṣṭum upacakrame | taṃ ca tathāvidham avalokya rājānaṃ rājñī samānīya Śarvavarmābhidheyaṃ kam api paṇḍita-varaṃ preṣitavān rājñaḥ parisāntvanāya | sa ca Śarvavarmā acireṇaiva kālena rājānaṃ vyākaraṇa-saṃskṛtaṃ kartuṃ pratijñāya Mahādevasyārādhanaṃ kṛtavān | devasya ca Śambhor anujñayā Kārttikeyam ārādhya śikhi-vāhanasya śikhināṃ kalāpāt vyākaraṇaṃ saṃgṛhya rājānam alpa-kālenaiva vyākaraṇābhijñaṃ kṛtavān ||[1]

*See also* p. 83 of Prof. Belvalkar's *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (1915 edn., Poona). The *Kātantra* was, therefore, according to this tradition, revealed through the grace of Śiva; and since Kumāra taught it to Śarvavarman at the behest of Śiva, it can, not inaptly, be described as 'originally taught by Maheśvaradeva'.

Again, *Śarva* is the abbreviated form of *Śarvavarman*, the name of the propagator of the *Kātantra*, and one meets both forms in the commentaries on that work. Thus, Durgasiṁha, in the opening verse of his scholium,

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1. The punctuation marks are mine.

*deva-devaṃ praṇamyādau sarvajñaṃ sarva-darśinam |*
*Kātantrasya pravakṣyāmi vyākhyānaṃ Śārvavarmikam ||*

uses the full name *Śarvavarman*, while Gaṅgeśaśarman, author of the *Kātantra-kaumudī*, uses the form *Śarva*; compare the sentence *Śarva-kṛta-sūtrānusaṁdehe viparītasya siddhi jñātavyā* [so !] that is cited from this work by Haraprasāda Śāstri on p. 44 of the above-cited Volume III of *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Second Series.* Now, Maheśvara is a synonym of Śarva, and I-tsing,[1] hearing of Śarva's *Kātantra-vyākaraṇa*, may perhaps have thought that, like the *Śiva-sūtras* taught to Pāṇini, the whole work *Kātantra* was 'originally taught by Maheśvara-deva'.

(5) On p. 9 of his edition of the Kātantra (*Zur Einfuehrung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft, No.* 1), Prof. Liebich has observed "At the time when Durgasiṁha reduced to writing the *Kātantra-sūtra-vṛtti* which until then had been handed down orally, the original work was already enlarged by additions". Similarly, Prof. Belvalkar too has set forth on p. 83 f. of his above-named work how a whole *prakaraṇa* (namely, the fourth) or book and many sections (pādas) have been interpolated in the Kātantra, and how the original book was much smaller in size. The book described by him on p. 83 (l. c.) contains 6+8+8+6 or 28 sections while the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Kātantra with Durgasiṁha's scholium contains 25 sections only, and Liebich's edition, 5+4+4+4 or 17 sections. Now it is the opinion of Liebich (*Kātantra*, p. 13) that these sections were all originally taught by Śarvavarman, that is, that the Kātantra consisted originally of 17 pādas. But, as he himself has pointed out (*op. cit.*, p. 9), the use of the word *pāda* to denote the parts of a literary composition indicates that such composition consisted of four pādas only. And since we know that, of the four prakaraṇas now found in the Kātantra, the fourth is a later addition, it would follow that the original Kātantra consisted of three prakaraṇas only, each of which contained 4 pādas.[2]

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1. I-tsing must by that time have become quite familiar with the fact that, in India, the authorship of several works was ascribed to Śiva, Brahmā, Sūrya, Indra and similar other gods.

2. According to Liebich (*Kātantra*, Introd.), the Kātantra, which is in fact an abridgment of Pāṇini's work and is (therefore) said to have been originally taught by Kumāra, son of Śiva (who taught Pāṇini), contained originally 4 books (*i.e.*, half the number

There must, therefore, in all probability, have been a stage in the enlargement of the Kātantra when it consisted of 18 pādas. It was at this stage when I-tsing became acquainted with the book, and, therefore, described it as 'arranged in eighteen sections'.

(6) As regards the extent (*i.e.*, number of syllables) of the Kātantra, Liebich's edition of the book contains 775 sūtras. The number of pādas, however, is only seventeen; but as these contain the kernel of Sanskrit Grammar, it is very probable that they formed part of the book of 18 sections known to I-tsing. By adding therefore to 775 the number 775÷17 or 44 (average number of sūtras in a pāda), we get a number,[1] 819, that must be very near to the number of sūtras contained in the 18 pādas. Now the total number of sūtras contained in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is about 4000 according to Prof. Belvalkar (*op. cit.*, p. 87); and their bulk is given as 1000 ślokas by I-tsing (*Record*, p. 172).[2] The bulk of 819 sūtras is, therefore, about 204 ślokas. But, whereas Pāṇini has constantly made it his aim to make his work as brief as possible and has, therefore, made free use of many technical terms (*e.g.*, ghu), abbreviations (*e.g.*, *ac*, *hal*, *jaś*) and other expedients, Śarvavarman, on the other hand, made it his aim to make his sūtras as clear as possible, and was therefore obliged to employ freely terms like *svara*, *vyañjana*, *varṇa*, and to use invariably more syllables than Pāṇini in all matters; see in this connection Belvalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 86. In consequence, the number of verses contained by 819 sūtras of

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of those contained in Pāṇini); and the fourth book of the original was incorporated into the third when the new Book, dealing with the kṛt suffixes, was added at the end as the fourth book.

All this appears to me to be fanciful, and I prefer to believe, until evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, that the Kātantra, like the grammar of Kāśakṛtsna, consisted originally of three books. At the same time, I think it not improbable that there have been changes made in the pādas, and that the pādas of the original were longer than they are now.

1. The 28 pādas of which the Kātantra described by Belvalkar is composed, contain, according to him (*op. cit.*, p. 87), 1400 sūtras. This gives 50 as the average number of sūtras in a pāda. The number contained in 18 pādas would, therefore, be 900.

2. So does Hiuen Tsang too in his *Si-yu-ki*, see Beal's translation, I, 115.

the Kātantra is greater than that contained in the same number of Pāṇini's sūtras; and it is very probable that it was about 300 as stated by I-tsing.

(7) There is one more detail given in I-tsing's above-cited description of the Si-t'an-chang, namely, that it is also called *Siddhir-astu*, because its first section is so named, that is, because its first section begins with these words. I have abstained from noticing this detail above, because it is obviously incorrect. In the first place, *Si-t'an-chang* signifies 'work or composition that begins with the word *siddha*'; and it is very improbable that I-tsing, in the very next sentence, would have said that the first section of the book, that is, the book itself, began with the words *siddhir-astu*. Secondly, there are found innumerable books in India that begin with the expressions *śrī-Gaṇeśāya namaḥ*, *nirvighnam astu*, or *avighnam astu*. None of these expressions has ever become the designation of a book; and there can be no doubt that the case is similar with the expression *siddhir-astu* and that this expression too never became the designation of a book.

In his translation of I-tsing's *Record*, Prof. Takakusu has observed on page lx of his *General Introduction*: "The text of our *Record* is very corrupt"; and he has, on pages lx-lxiii, cited some observations made by Chinese and Japanese commentators, which go to show that there are omissions in the text translated by him. There are, doubtless, corruptions also; and as an instance, I cite here the passage, "It contains 1000 ślokas, and is the work of Pāṇini, a very learned scholar of old, who is said to have been inspired and assisted by Maheśvara-deva, and endowed with three eyes", which is found on p. 172 of the English translation of the *Record*. It is obvious that, in I-tsing's original text, the expression 'endowed with three eyes' was an attribute of Maheśvara-deva, and that the existing text, which makes it an attribute of Pāṇini, is corrupt.

I believe, therefore, that there are, similarly, corruptions in the portion of I-tsing's *Record* that refers to the Si-t'an-chang also. In fact, the opinion was expressed long ago by Beal (Si-yu-ki, I, 78, n. 23) that the reading *Sih-ti-lo-su-to* (or *siddhir-astu*) found in the text of I-tsing was corrupt; and he put forward the conjecture that the original reading was *Sih-ti-po-su-to* (*Siddha-vastu*). But according to Thomas Watters (*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, 155) the word *Siddhavastu* is un-

known to Chinese and Sanskrit literature, and was, in all probability first used by Stanislas Julien in his note on the translation of Hiuen Tsang's Si-yu-ki (*Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales* liv. ii, p. 73); it could not, therefore, have stood originally in I-tsing's *Record*. That the original word was a compound beginning with the word *siddha*, there can be no doubt; but I can hazard no conjecture about the second word of this compound as I am neither a Sinologist nor well-acquinted with the history of the Kātantra-vyākaraṇa. I think it, however, very probable that the compound was a synonym of *Siddha-tantra* (the siddha work), Siddha-vastu (matter or composition beginning with the word *siddha*) *Siddha-sūtra* (the Sūtra work known as *Siddha*) or other similar title, and that, like the title *Si-t'an-chang*, it was an apt description of the Kātantra-vyākaraṇa whose first sūtra reads *siddho varṇa-samāmnāyaḥ* and which work thus begins with the word *siddha.*

Further, in I-tsings's description of the Si-t'an-chang, instead of 'so named is the first section of this small book of learning', we should read 'so begins the first section of this small book of learning'.

I believe then that I-tsing's description of the Si-t'an-chang was originally something like what follows:

"I. The Si-t'an-chang (Siddha-composition) for beginners. This is arranged in eighteen sections; it is also called Siddha..., for so begins the first section of this small book of learning. This section deals with the forty-nine letters of the alphabet which are combined with one another in many ways. The total number of syllables (of the work) is more than 10,000 or more than 300 ślokas", etc.

The first section (pāda) of the Kātantra reads as follows:

*siddho varṇa-samāmnāyaḥ| tatra caturdaśādau svarāḥ| daśa samānāḥ| teṣāṃ dvau dvāv anyonyasya savarṇau| pūrvo hrasvaḥ| paro dīrghaḥ| svaro varṇa-varjo nāmī| ekārādīni sandhy-akṣarāṇi| kādīni vyañjanāni| te vargāḥ pañca pañca pañca| vargāṇāṃ prathama-dvitīyāḥ śa-ṣa-sāś cāghoṣāḥ| ghoṣavanto 'nye| anunāsikā ṅa-ña-ṇa-na-māḥ| antasthā ya-ra-la-vāḥ| ūṣmāṇaḥ śa-ṣa-sa-hāḥ| aḥ iti visarjanīyaḥ| ẖka iti jihvāmūlīyaḥ| ḫpa ity upadhmānīyaḥ| aṃ ity anusvāraḥ| pūrva-parayor arthopalabdhau padam| vyañjanam asvaraṃ paraṃ varṇaṃ nayet| anatikramayan viśleṣayet| lokopacārād grahaṇa-siddhiḥ||*

It can be readily seen that it begins with the word *siddha* and that it deals with the forty-nine letters[1] of the alphabet and their different combinations or groupings.

It thus becomes plain from the foregoing that the Si-t'an-chang mentioned by I-tsing is the Kātantra-vyākaraṇa and no other work.

Let us turn now to the book mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. His description of it, which is very short, reads in Beal's translation (Si-yu-ki, I, p. 78) as follows: "To educate and encourage the young, they are first taught (led) to study the book of twelve chapters (*Siddha-vastu*)". Hiuen Tsang then observes in continuation, "After arriving at the age of seven years and upwards, the young are instructed in the five Vidyās, Śāstras of great importance", and then explains that these five *Śāstras* are *Śabda-vidyā, Śilpa-sthāna-vidyā, Cikitsā-vidyā, Hetu-vidyā* and *Adhyātma-vidyā.*

As indicated by the brackets, there is nothing in the Chinese text of Hiuen Tsang that corresponds to the expression *Siddha-vastu.* This word was first used in this connection by Stanislas Julien whom Beal has followed. Another word used by Julien in his note in this connection is *Si-t'an-chang* (spelt also as *sih-ti-chang*), and Beal follows him in using this word also in connection with this 'book of twelve chapters';[2] compare his observation (Si-yu-ki, I, 78, n. 23): "This work in twelve chapters is that called *Siddhavastu* (*Sih-ti-chang*) in the *Fan-i-ming-i-tsi* (book xiv, 17-a)".

Watters has pointed out on pp. 155-156 of his above-cited book that there are many works in Chinese bearing the name Si-t'an-chang (or, as he writes it, Siddham-chang), with chapters or sections varying in number from nine to eighteen. "From a passage in I-ching's " Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei" [*i.e.*, I-tsing's *Record*] and from other works", he observes, "we learn that the Siddham-chang was the name of a child's primer ABC., the first chapter of which was headed by the word *siddham.* This word forms an

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1. The forty-nine letters of the alphabet referred to by I-tsing here are: a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṝ, lṛ, lṝ, e, ai, o, au, aṃ, aḥ; and the consonants ka, kha,....sa, ha. *See page* lxi of Takakusu's *General Introduction* to his translation of I-tsing's *Record.*

2. The word used by Hiuen Tsang is Shi-ērh-chang. Julien translates this as 'un livre en douze sections' and Watters as " the 'Twelve Chapters' ".

"auspicious invocation", and the Buddhists used it alone or with "Namo Sarvajñāya, "Praise to the omniscient [Buddha]" prefixed, at the beginning of their primers. . . . Instead of siddham the non-Buddhist teachers in India placed "siddhir-astu" meaning "May there be success (or accomplishment)" at the head of their ABCs. Thus these books came to be called Siddham or Siddhir-astu, the former being the name by which they became known to the Chinese. There are many varieties of them and the number of chapters or sections ranges from nine to eighteen, the latter being the number in the work which may be regarded as the standard one in China. This is the *Si-t'an-tzu-chi* by the monk Chih-kuang of the T'ang period taken from the Siddham of Prajñābodhi of South India. A Siddham gives the Sanskrit alphabet beginning with the vowels and proceeding in the order in which the letters are given in our Sanskrit grammars, then the combinations made by single consonants and vowels, and then those made by two or more consonants with a vowel. In some of the Siddhams made for Chinese use we are told that this word denotes "the alphabet", while in others we are told that it is a designation for the twelve so-called vowels, but the statements are not borne out by any authority, and are evidently not correct."

Watters' belief that the Si-t'an-chang mentioned in I-tsing's *Record* is an ABC. book is, as has been shown above, erroneous[1];

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1. His belief that 'instead of *siddham*, the non-Buddhist teachers in India placed *siddhir-astu* at the head of their ABCs' is likewise erroneous as is shown by the following passage on p. 486 of the Divyāvadāna:

पन्थको दारक उन्नीतो वर्धितो महान् संवृत्तः । स यदा महान् संवृत्तस्तदा लिप्यामुपन्यस्तः । तस्य सीत्युक्ते धमिति विस्मरति । अथ तस्याचार्यः कथयति । ब्राह्मण मया प्रभूतदारकाः पाठयितव्याः । न शक्ष्याम्यहं पन्थकं पाठयितुम् । महापन्थकस्याल्पमुच्यते प्रभूतं गृह्णाति । अस्य नु पन्थकस्य सीप्युक्ते धमिति विस्मरति ॥

It is explicitly said in this passage that Panthaka was a Brāhmaṇa boy, and that when he was sent to a school to learn writing, the teacher first taught him the letters *si* and *dham*, that is, *siddham*. The Divyāvadāna was compiled, according to Winternitz (*Gesch. d. ind. Litteratur*, 2, 223), in the third century A. D. Compare also Kielhorn's observation quoted above that 'both in Brāhmaṇical and Jaina indigenous schools the first thing children

but there is no reason to doubt his statement that the books known by that name in China are ABC. books of the Sanskrit alphabet. They are called Siddham-chang, because the Sanskrit alphabet begins with the word *siddha*; and I-tsing, in the *Record* refers to the Kātantra as Siddham-chang because it too begins with the word *siddha*. The Chinese writers seem to be unaware that there was in India, beside the *siddha-mātṛkā* or ABC. book, another elementary book, namely, the Kātantra, which also began with the word *siddha* and was taught to young children; and they hence seem to have regarded the Siddham-chang mentioned by I-tsing too as an ABC. book.

As regards the Shi-ērh-chang, however, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, its equation with *Siddha-vastu* and *Siddham-chang*, and consequent identification with an ABC. book, are, as pointed above, due to Julien, and quite unfounded.

Buhler's identification of that work with the *Bārākhaḍī* or *Dvādāśākṣarī* table was based not only on the statements referred to above of Julien and Beal, but also on the fact that the *Dvādaśākṣarī* table was in use in India from at least the third century B. C. The education of every child began, naturally, with the teaching of the *varṇa-mālā*, and since the *varṇas* were taught by means of the *Dvādaśākṣarī* table, this table was identified by him with the Shi-ērh-chang, which, according to Hiuen Tsang, was first taught to children and consisted of twelve chapters or sections; *see* pp. 29-31 of his above-cited book.[1]

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learn is the phrase *oṃ namaḥ siddham*'. I may add that I too have been present on many occasions when children of Brāhmanical families were given their first lesson; it was in writing, and the words to be written were *oṃ namaḥ śivāya siddham*.

It is interesting in this connection to note that many such children, being of tender years, are unable to pronounce *ddha* in *siddham* properly. Likewise many find it impossible to write too that akṣara properly, being unable to write subscript letters. It happens, therefore, that instead of *siddham*, they write *sidham*, the very form which, in the above-mentioned Divyāvadāna story, we find the experienced teacher using.

1. Later, when the description of the Śi-t'an-chang given by I-tsing in the *Record* became known, Buhler extended this identification to that work also (*op. cit.* p. 32), the more readily since the name *Si-t'an-chang* had already been associated with such a table by Julien and Beal in the notes which they had written about the Shi-ērh-chang.

It is possible that this identification may be correct; on the other hand, it is also possible that the Shi-ērh-chang too may refer to the Kātantra-vyākaraṇa which, as pointed out above, consisted originally (in all probability) of 12 pādas or sections. The following considerations, however, seem to militate against Buhler's identification and to favour the identification with the Kātantra:

(1) The description given by Hiuen Tsang of the Shi-ērh-chang seems to show that it was a book. A *Dvādaśākṣarī* table, it is certain, could never have been regarded as a book by any pandit or teacher in India.

(2) Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing have both, in their works, noticed briefly the system of education which was in vogue in India in the first and second half, respectively, of the seventh century A. D. This system could not have undergone much change in the interval between the visits of the two writers; and one can therefore justifiably identify the Shi-ērh-chang described in the *Si-yu-ki* as being 'first taught to the young in order to educate and encourage them', with the Si-t'an-chang decribed in the *Record* as being first taught to children when they were six years old. The latter, as shown above, is identical with the Kātantra-vyākaraṇa, and it is hence probable that the former too is identical with it.

(3) It is shown by the description given in the *Si-yu-ki* that children, after they learnt the Shi-ērh-chang and were seven years old, proceeded to study the five sciences, namely, Śabda-vidyā, Śilpa-sthāna-vidyā, Cikitsā-vidyā, Hetu-vidyā and Adhyātma-vidyā. Now it is obvious that not all people can succeed in mastering all the five vidyās. This achievement was for the few only, and the majority must have contented themselves with the mastery of three, two or even one of the five vidyās. The study of every one of them however requires, as a preliminary, the knowledge of the principles of Sanskrit grammar. This knowledge could no doubt be gained by the students from the study of Śabda-vidyā when this vidyā happened to be included in the two or three studied by them. There must have been instances however when this was not the case; and in connection with such, the identification with the Kātantra of the Shi-ērh-chang studied by all boys will readily explain whence they acquired the requisite preliminary knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. The Kātantra, as is explicitly mentioned by the

author of the *Vyākhyāna-prakriyā* (*see* Belvalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 82) was primarily designed for the use of the classes of people mentioned in the following verses:

> chāndasās svalpa-matayaḥ śāstrāntara-ratāś ca ye |
> īśvarā vyādhi-niratās tathā 'lasya-yutāś ca ye ||
> vaṇik-sasyādi-saṁsaktā lokayātrādiṣu sthitāḥ |
> teṣāṃ kṣipraṃ prabodhārtham..... ||;

and it is not, therefore, improbable that it was taught first to all boys when they were six years old.

This explains why the Kātantra (or Si-t'an-chang) too is mentioned along with Pāṇini's Sūtra, Book on Dhātu, Book on Three Khilas, and Kāsikā-vṛtti among the five books on Sanskrit grammar in I-tsing's *Record*. The last-mentioned four books are enough by themselves to give one a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, and the Kātantra is nowhere when compared with them. The fact that it is nevertheless mentioned here seems to indicate that it was taught first to all boys and thus formed part of the course in all the five vidyās.

It may, however, be objected here that it is hardly possible that the Shi-ērh-chang containing 12 sections and the Si-t'an-chang containing 18, could both be identical with the Kātantra, and that it is difficult to believe that the Kātantra, which was a book of 12 sections in about 635 A. D. when Hiuen Tsang visited India, had developed into a book of 18 sections by about 685 A. D. when I-tsing became acquainted with it. This objection is plausible. But we know definitely that the Kātantra commented upon by Durgasiṁha consisted of 25 sections; and if Belvalkar's surmise (*op. cit.*, p. 88) that he lived between 700 and 800 A. D. is correct, we shall have to admit that the Kātantra had grown, in the period between I-tsing and Durgasiṁha, that is, between about 685 and 750 A. D., from a book of 18 sections into one of 25 sections. There is hence nothing improbable in its having grown, similarly, in the period between 635 and 685 A. D., from a book of 12 sections into one of 18 sections.

Thus the identification of the Shi-ērh-chang with the Kātantra is not inherently improbable; but because the details mentioned by Hiuen Tsang about that work are very meagre, it is not possible for us to say with certainty that this identification is correct. Regarding the Si-t'an-chang, however, the many details mentioned in I-tsing's *Record* about it make it certain that it is identical with the Kātantra.

# THE MĀYALŪR PLATES OF VINAYĀDITYA.

BY

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA,

*Madras.*

These plates, well concealed in husk in an earthen pot, were recently discovered by a farmer while ploughing a field on a mound, west of Māyalūr (in Koilkuntla taluq, Kurnool district), which is said to have been the site of a deserted village. According to the *Local Records*, Māyalūr is known as Vātāpipura or the city of Vātāpi—the town of deceipt and fraud. Rūpanaguḍi, another village two miles away from Māyalūr, is known as the place where Ilvala and Vātāpi, who were destroyed by Agastya, used to change their form (*Rūpa*).

Fortunately, these plates came later on into the hands of Mr. Malikireddy Venkata Reddy, who takes much interest in history. He was good enough to send these plates to me for publication.

Perhaps in the attempts made by the discoverers to get rid of the verdigris, these plates got damaged to some extent. The damage is seen more on the second side of the first plate, where the inscription commences. However, it is possible to restore the text with the aid of other inscriptions of the same donor. The inscription is boldly engraved and the writing is fairly well preserved, except in some places where it has been damaged.

The grant consists of three plates, each measuring 8·1″ by 3·6″, fastened to a circular ring, 3·6″ in diameter. The ends of the ring were soldered under the bottom of a small circular seal, 1·1″ in diameter with a small figure in relief of a boar facing to the left. The ring was cut by the time the grant came into my hands. The ends of the plates were not fashioned into edges, and this by itself is sufficient to prove the antiquity of the grant. The outer sides of the first and third plates were left blank.

The characters belong to the southern variety of alphabets, commonly termed the "Telugu-Canarese" script; but the style, a slanting and not a circular one, is the same as the one

used in many of the Bādāmi Calukyan records like the Jējūri,[1] the Kurnool,[2] the Togarcēḍu[3] and other grants of Vinayāditya, son of Vikramāditya I. Orthographically there is nothing to mention in particular other than the several peculiarities, also found in the copper-plate grants of Vinayāditya, published so far in the Indian Antiquary and the Epigraphia Indica. As usual, all consonants except *tha* and *ṣa* are doubled after *r*. However, even this rule is not strictly adhered to.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit throughout, except for the term *"māṟuñchamaṟumanno"* in lines 27-28, which appears to be a vernacular word, be it Canarese or Telugu. This and similar other terms like *"Ādityuñcha-maṟumanno"* and *"māruñcha-manno"* etc. occur in the copper-plate grants of Vinayāditya himself, and his uncle Ādityavarma. The meaning of these terms is not clear, though Fleet was of opinion that these might refer to taxes.[4] This view seems to be untenable, when examined in the light of the passage *"Muṇḍakallu grāmasya Palgiṟe grāmasya ca uñchamannapannāsa vṛttiḥ"*[5]. Here, the land measuring *"pannāsa"* (*pañcāśat* meaning fifty), probably *nivartanas*, was given as *"uñchamannavṛttiḥ"*— perhaps the name of a certain kind of land tenure. Even this grant can be interpreted as a gift of a field measuring 108 *nivartanas* on the tenure of *"māṟuñchamaṟumanna"*. But the exact significance of these peculiar terms is not clear. These terms occur only in the grants coming from the Kurnool district.

With the exception of the benedictory verse at the commencement and the usual inprecatory verses at the end, the whole inscription is written in chaste Sanskrit prose, replete with *śabdālaṅkāras.*

The inscription belongs to the Bādāmi Calukyan ruler Vinayāditya, son of Vikramāditya I and grandson of Satyāśraya or Pulakēśin II. The whole inscription is but a copy of the Kurnool, the Sorab[6] and the Togarcēḍu plates of Vinayāditya.

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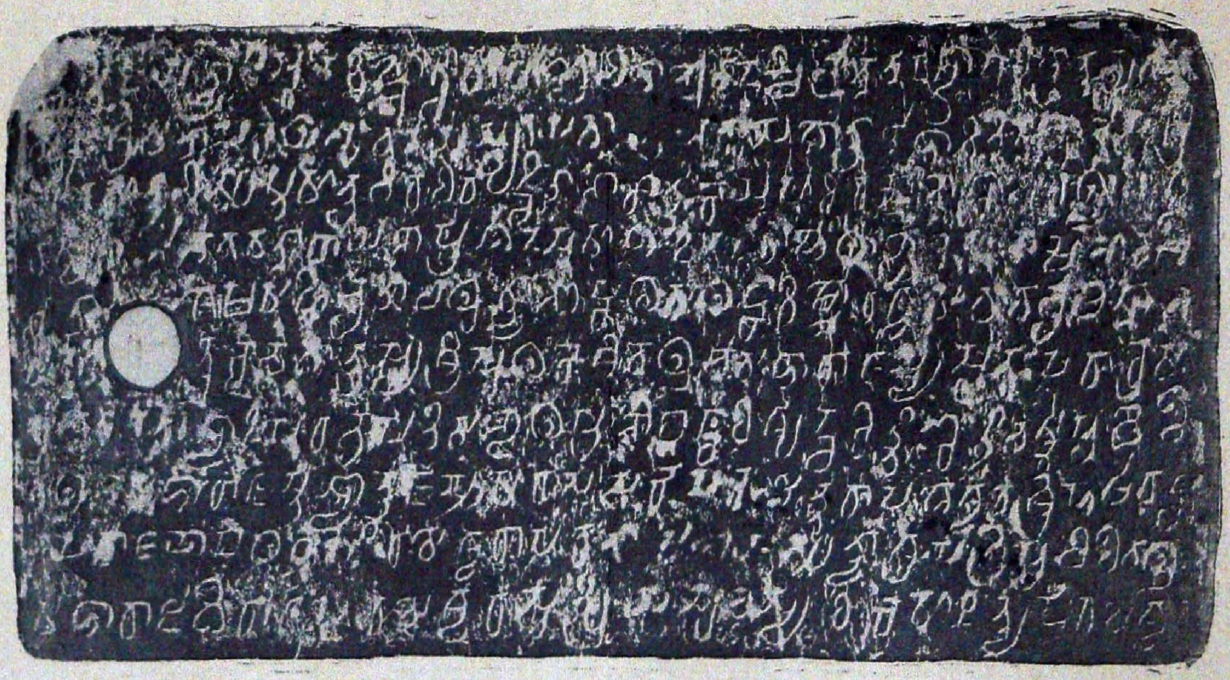
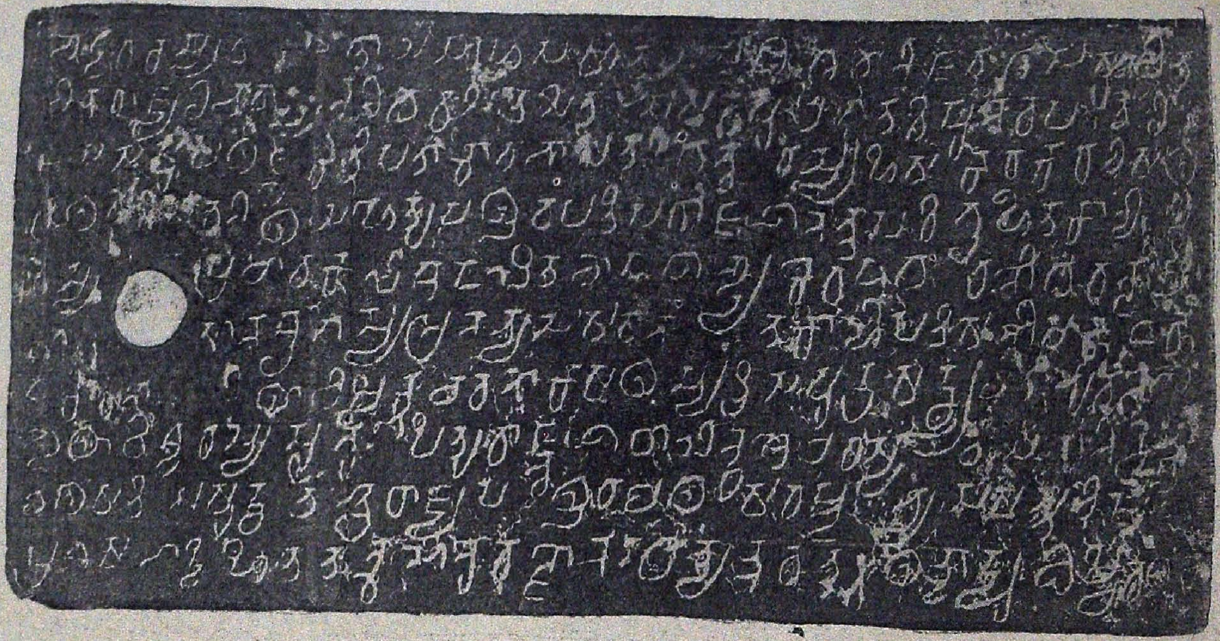
1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 62 ff.
2. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 88 ff.
3. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 85 ff.
4. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 87, foot note.
5. Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. XVI, p. 223 ff.
6. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 146.

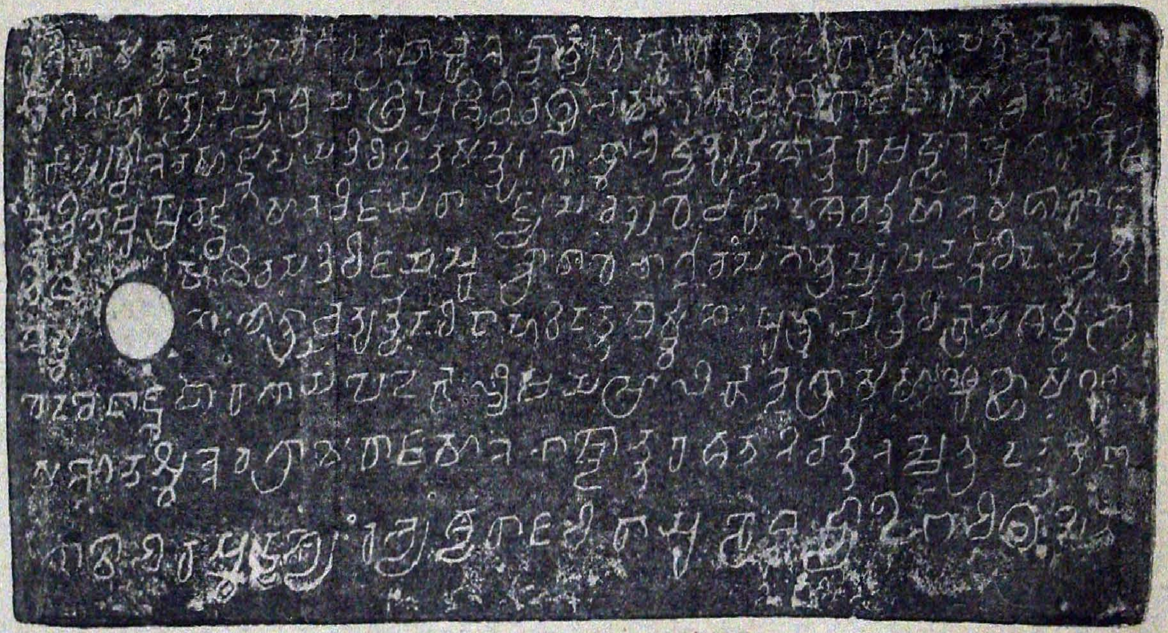
First Plate.



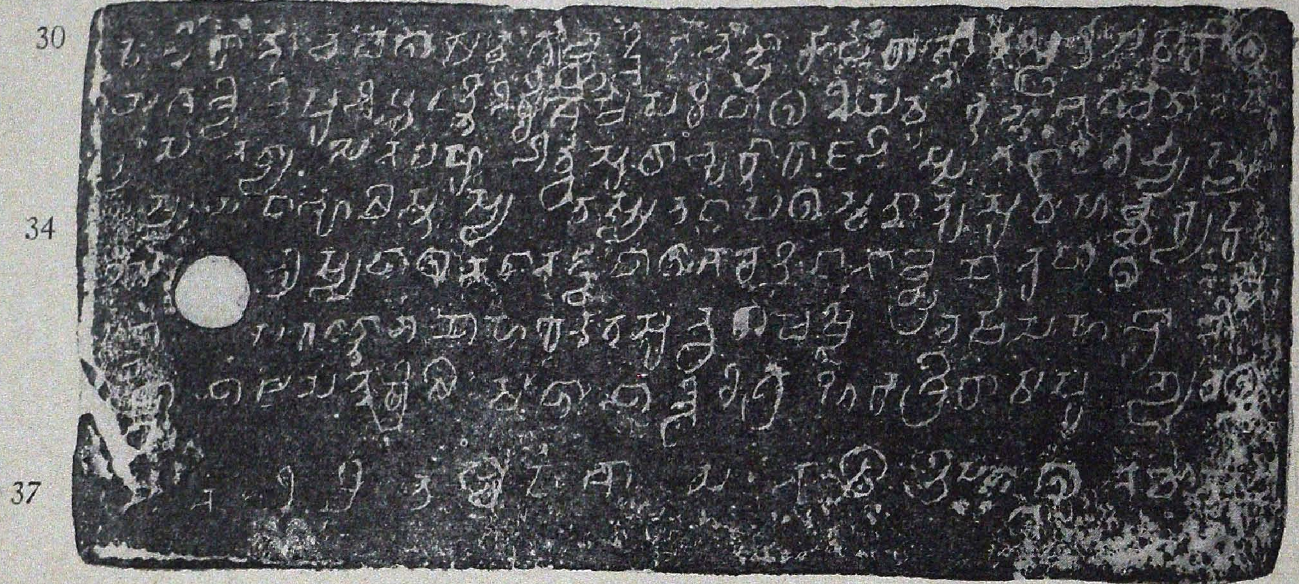
Second Plate: First Side.



Second Plate: Second Side.



Third Plate: First Side.




*Kind Courtesy of the Editor* " Bhārati,"

This inscription, however, does not contain the passage "*Pallava-Kaḷabhra-Kēraḷa--Haihaya-Viḷa-Māḷava-Cōḷa--Pāṇḍy-ādyāḥ yēn-Āḷuva-Gaṅg-ādyair-maulais-samabhṛtyānītaḥ*" which occurs after "*Rājāśrayatvād-Bharata-iva*" in the Jējūri, the Harihar and the Dayyaṅdinne plates.[1]

The inscription records the grant of 108 *nivartanas* of land by the royal measure, as "*māṟuñchamaṟumanna*" in the village of Ālikunde in Peḍekalviṣaya to Trivikrama Śarma, son of Hari-datta Śarma and grandson of Svasti Śarma of Bhāradvājagōtra, made by the King Vinayāditya, in the eleventh year of his reign, in the Śaka year 614 (expired) (*i.e.*, in A. D. 692),[2] while he was

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1. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 300 ff.; Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 62; XXII, p. 24.

2. Recently an attempt was made by Mr. Panchamukhi to adjust the dates with the regnal years of the grants of Vinayāditya and thereby to determine his date of accession. Nine dated ins-criptions of Vinayāditya are, so far, discovered including this grant. I give them below:

(1) Lakṣmēśvar record — 7th Reg. yr — Śaka 608, Māgha, Su. di. 15 — Feb. 3, 687 — (681).

(2) Jējūri record — 9th Reg. yr — Śaka 609, Āṣāḍha, Su. di. 15 — July. 2, 687 — (679).

(3) Togarcēḍu record — 10th Reg. yr — Śaka 611, Kārtika, Su. di. 15 — Nov. 3, 689 — (680).

(4) Kurnool record — 11th Reg. yr — Śaka 613, Māgha, Su. di. 15—Jan. 10, 692 — (682).

(5) Sorab record — 11th Reg. yr — Śaka 614, Saturday, Rōhiṇi — June. 22, 692 — (682).

(6) Māyalūr record — 11th Reg. yr — Śaka 614. — 692— (682).

(7) Dayyaṅdinne record — 12th Reg. yr — Śaka 614, Āṣāḍha, Su. di. 15, Dakṣiṇāyanakāla — June. 22, 693 — (682).

(8) Harihar record — 14th Reg. yr — Śaka 616, Kārtika, Su. di. 15 — Oct. 9, 694 — (681).

(9) Pāṭoḍa record — 14th Reg. yr — 617, Vaiśākha, Su. di. 15 — May. 4, 695— (682).

I accept the regnal year 7 for the Lakṣmēśvar record, impressions of which have not been published. We have to depend upon Fleet, who has given the text for the date portion only. He gives the regnal year as 5 and queries if it could be 7, in brackets. While editing the Jējūri grant Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar accepts the regnal year 7. Mr. Panchamukhi takes the regnal year to be 5. Besides this, there are some other differences in the English dates

encamping at *Mahākōṭatīrtha.* The precise date as to when the

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given by me and by Mr. Panchamukhi. I accepted Fleet's dates for the Lakṣmēśvar and the Togarcēḍu records. In his attempts at adjustment Mr. Panchamukhi has taken the Śaka dates given in the Togarcēḍu and the Lakṣmēśvar records as current years in spite of the fact that they are stated to be expired years (Śakavarṣēṣ-vatītēṣu). The date of the Dayyandinne plates, according to Mr. Panchamukhi, is 4th July 692, which is the date given by Swamikannu Pillai (Ep. Rep. for 1916, app. G, p. 102 and Indian Ephemeris, Vol. I, part II, p. 35). But my date is June 22nd, 693 A. D. I calculated the details for 693 A. D., with the aid of the Ephemeris. In that year *Dakṣiṇāyana-sankramaṇa-puṇyakāla* fell on June 22nd at gh. 18, p. 6. *Āṣāḍha, Su. di.* 14 ends on June 22nd at gh. 37, p. 12 and *Āṣāḍha, Su. di.* 15 ends on June 23rd at gh. 33, p. 58. (All the above calculations are for the mean *tithi*). Thus, though the *Saṅkramaṇa-puṇyakāla* did not actually fall during the *Paurṇamī tithi*, it fell on the same day on which the *Paurṇamī tithi* began. Though the details in the grant do not, thus, strictly conform to the date I have given, yet, the date may be accepted as probable, inasmuch as the commencement of the *Paurṇamī tithi* and the *Saṅkramaṇa-kāla* fall on the same day. With the exception of the Jējūri and the Togarcēḍu records all the remaining ones may be conveniently divided into two sets, one set giving the initial date A. D. 681 and the other 682. But the only grants that do not fall in line with either the first set or the second one, as already noticed, are the Jējūri and the Togarcēḍu records. In my opinion there is something wrong with the dating of the Jējūri inscription. The reason is this. The passage "*Pallava-Kaḷabhra*" etc. in the Jējūri record is not found in the Togarcēḍu, the Kurnool, the Sorab and the Māyalūr plates of Vinayāditya's 10th and 11th regnal years, but mentioned in the Dayyandinne and the Harihar records of his 12th and 14th regnal years. If the Jējūri record is the earliest one after the Lakṣmēś-var inscription in respect of time, then it is unaccountable why that passage is omitted in the subsequent records till Vinayāditya's 12th year. Such passages as these which describe the conquests of kings have a tendency to grow gradually and show a kind of development. It is easy to discern the truth of this statement, if we study the records of the early South Indian dynasties closely. Judging the Jējūri record by this criterion I suspect that there is something wrong with the date of the record if the discrepancy is not due to anything else. I am unable to account for the discre-pancy in the Togarcēḍu record. If these two records are set aside,

grant was actually made is not known, due to the lack of astronomical details. Of all the copper plate grants of Vinayāditya this is the only grant that does not mention even the *tithi* and the *māsa*.

The writer of the grant was Śrīrāmapuṇyavallabha who was the writer of all the grants of Vinayāditya. He is styled *Sāndhi-vigrahika*, that is minister for peace and war.

Mahākōṭatīrtha, Ālikunde and Peḍekalviṣaya are the only localities mentioned in these plates. Mahākōṭatīrtha might be a mistake for Mahākūṭa tīrtha, which, then, may be identified with the famous *tīrtha* of the same name, three miles away from Bādāmi due east. Ālikunde may be identified with the village Ālikoṇḍa, otherwise called Ālavakoṇḍa in the Koilkuntla taluq, to the north-east of Māyalūr, six miles away from it. Peḍekulviṣaya occurs in the Togarcēḍu plates, also of Vinayāditya. The name of the village mentioned therein was read by Fleet as Togaccēḍu,[1] which is no other than Togarcēḍu. There are two villages of the same name, one in the Dhone taluq and the other in the Nandyal taluq. Unless and until the ancient territorial division of Peḍekalviṣaya is identified with reference to the existing political divisions it is difficult to say which Togarcēḍu was intended. There is epigraphical evidence to show that the villages of Gaḍigarēvula, Nandyal and Pāṇem were situated in the Peḍakaṇṭi sīma (or Peḍakallu sīma), which is no other than the ancient Peḍekalviṣaya. Taking all these villages into account, it is easy to determine that the present Nandyal and Koilkuntla taluqs of the Kurnool district once corresponded to the ancient territorial division Peḍekalviṣaya or the later Peḍakaṇṭi sīma. There are two villages by name Peṇḍēkallu, one in the Dhone taluq and the other in the Pattikoṇḍa taluq of the Kurnool district. If the modern Peṇḍēkallu is the same as Peḍekallu of ancient times (which I doubt), then some portion of the Dhone taluq which is adjacent to the Koilkuntla taluq should have also formed part of the ancient Peḍekalviṣaya.

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we get 681—682 as the date of accession Vinayāditya. His father Vikramāditya's initial year of rule is 655 A. D. His rule comes to a close in 681 after a reign of twenty-seven years (Ep. Coll., No. 364 of 1920). So Vinayāditya's rule should have, naturally, begun in 681—682, the result we obtained above.

1. Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. XVI, p. 244, l. 28.

*"Trairājya-Pallava."*

One or two points deserve our attention when we deal with the records of the Bādāmi Calukyas in general and of Vinayāditya's charters in particular. One such point is the term *"Trairājyapallava."* This phrase has been the subject of much controversy regarding its interpretation. It is unnecessary to go into the details about the grammar of the phrase. The point under discussion is really whether the term *"Trairājya"* in *"Trairājya-Pallava"* refers to the Pallava power itself or to some other powers. Scholars have explained it in differnt ways. Fleet thought, at first, that it referred to the Pallavas[1] but later on concluded that it refers to the three kingdoms of Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa[2]. Kielhorn[3], Kṛṣṇasāstri[4] and others also were inclined to the latter opinion. On the basis of the fact that the Sinhalese claimed to have helped the Pallava king against the Calukyas, Dr. Dubreuil deduced that *"Trairājya"* refers to the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and the Sinhaḷa kingdom of Mānavamma.[5] Reviewing the question at some length, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya came to the conclusion that the phrase refers to the three component kingdoms of the Pallava empire itself and tried to locate them in the region of Kāñcī, Ceded districts, Nellore and Guntur districts.[6] The latest attempt to explain the term is by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi, M.A., who dealt with it at some length while recently editing the Dayyaṁdinne plates of Vinayāditya.[7] He opines that the term can only refer to the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa kingdoms.[8]

The basis for Mr. Panchamukhi's view is mainly as follows: There is no definite and incontrovertible evidence to show that there were three Pallava kingdoms, or even to prove that the region specified by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya was under the rule of the Pallavas, "in and before 643, when the confederation is supposed to have subverted the Calukyan power." Mr. Pancha-

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 134.
2. *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 368.
3. Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 202, n.
4. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 341, n. 1.
   Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 101, n. 5.
   Ep. Ind., Vol. IX. p. 205. n. 4.
5. *The Pallavas*, p. 44.
6. The Madras Christian College Magazine, 1929, p. 7 ff.
7. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, p. 24 ff.
8. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, p. 28.

mukhi says that the localities of stone inscriptions and of villages granted and registered in these early copper plate records show clearly that parts of Guntur, Nellore and the Ceded districts had already been conquered by Pulakēśin II, in his famous *digvijaya* and had become subject to the Calukyan rule. He cites two Calukyan records for Guntur, namely, the Koppāram[1] and the Niduparu[2] grants, the Annavaram[3] and the Chendalūr[4] records for Nellore, and the Gooty and the Sorab records of Vinayāditya, besides four other stone inscriptions[5] for the Ceded districts. The term, which is indicative of three kingdoms, no doubt varies in the grants of Vikramāditya and Vinayāditya, the former using the term "*avanīpatitritaya*" and the latter "*trairājya-Pallava*" or "*trairājya Kāñcīpati*". Yet, Mr. Panchamukhi says that the defeat of the Pallavas of Kāñcī and the capture of Kāñcī being common to the records of both the father and the son, the confederacy of the three kings referred to in Vikramāditya's grants could only refer to the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa kingdoms. This view gains, in his opinion, additional strength from the mention of the term "*trairājya*" in Jinasēna's Ādipurāṇa[6] and the passage "*Trairajya-Mūṣika-janapadān-Kanakāhvayō-bhōkṣyati.*"[7] The term "*trairājya*" in the Ādipurāṇa has been explained by a commentator on that work to mean the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa kingdoms. Fleet located the Mūṣikas somewhere on the Malabar coast between Quilon and Cape Comorin.[8] So "*trairājya*" connected with "*trairājya-Mūṣika*" should naturally be located near it. Hence, "it is therefore reasonable" he writes "to think that *trairājya* of the Calukyan inscriptions refers to these three countries (namely, Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa) only."

It is true that the Guntur and the Ceded districts formed part of the Calukyan kingdom after Pulakēśin II's *digvijaya.* Though Guntur never afterwards came into the possession of the

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1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 257 ff.
2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 55 ff.
3. Nel. Ins., Vol. I, D. 2.
4. Ep. Ind., Vol, VIII, p. 238 ff.
5. Ep. Coll., nos. 333, 343, 359 and 364 of 1920.
6. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 205.
7. BK. 4., ch. 24, V. 67.
8. *Dyn. Kan, Dts.*, p. 281.

Pallavas, the Ceded districts may be said to have been reconquered by Narasiṁhavarman I in his expedition against Vātāpi. Now the fact should be borne in mind that whatever evidence we may cite ought to help us in deciding as to which power was suzerain in the regions mentioned by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, between the years 642 and 658, *i.e.*, after the fall of Pulakēśin II[1] and the date of the Kurnool grant[2] of Vikramāditya I of his third regnal year (which mentions the term *"avanīpatitritaya"*). So then, Sarvalōkāśraya being a contemporary of Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya, his Chendalūr plates are of no avail to us. But on the other hand we have a lithic record[3] of Paramēśvaravarman in the Nellore district which goes to prove that the greater portion of the Nellore district was under the sway of the Pallavas during the reign of Paramēśvaravarman. Anyhow it cannot be denied that Nellore came into the possession of the Calukyas after Vikramāditya's reconquest. Like the Chendalūr record of Sarvalōkāśrāya, the Gooty (?) and the Sorab records of Vinayāditya and the lithic records of Vijayāditya, son of Vinayāditya and of Pulakēśin II do not help us in deciding the problem for the simple reason that they are dated either before or after the reign of Vikramāditya I. The rest of the inscriptions, also of Vikramāditya, quoted by Mr. Pancamukhi, being undated, are of little use to us; they may as well refer to a period after the reconquest of the territory by Vikramāditya I.[4] Therefore this objection cannot stand seriously against the contention that there was Pallava sway over the Ceded districts and that there were no Pallava kingdoms which can be taken to be the component parts of *"trairājya"*, before Vikramāditya's expedition against Kāñcī.

It seems difficult to interpret the terms *"avanīpatitritaya"* and *"trairājya-Pallava"* as referring to three confederate kingdoms other than the triple Pallava kingdom. If we take the

1. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 385.
2. Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. XVI, p. 225 ff.
3. Nel. Ins., Vol. II, Kg. 25.
4. There is an inscription of king Śrīvallabha in the Cuddapah district (Ep. Coll., no. 474 of 1906). I identify this Śrīvallabha with the Bādāmi Calukyan King Vikramāditya I himself. He obtained the title *'Śrīvallabha'* which was originally that of the Pallavas of Kāñcī, perhaps after his victory over them. Thus, it is possible to say that the inscriptions of Vikramāditya found in the Ceded districts might belong to a period after his conquest over the Pallavas.

early records of Vikramāditya I into consideration it becomes clear that there is no reference in them to the three confederate kingdoms, over and above the common fact, namely, the defeat of the Pallavas and the capture of Kāñcī. The defeat of the Pallavas has not been separately mentioned besides the reference to the confederacy of the three kingdoms. Only this passage "*svagurōḥ-śriya-mavanīpati-tritay-āñtaritam-ātmasātkṛtya(tvā)*" occurs in them. The defeat of the three Pallava kings, the capture of Kāñcī and the term "*avanīpatitritaya*" are mentioned in three grants of Vikramāditya I, namely the Gadwal plates[1] of Śaka 596 of his 20th regnal year, the undated Hyderabad plates[2] and the Kurutakuṇṭe grant[3] — declared spurious — the date of which is not yet made out.

In fact, if the single term "*avanīpatitritaya*" that occurs in the early records of Vikramāditya, is interpreted as referring to a confederacy of three kingdoms other than the Pallava confederacy, then there is no suggestion in them to help us postulate his defeating the Pallavas, until about his 20th regnal year. It is against all historical facts so far known, to state or to presume that not only the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas but also Kēraḷas, rose in rebellion against the Pallava suzerain power, defeated the powerful Pallava lords of Kāñcī, marched as far as Vātāpi, routed the Pallava forces there, and finally confiscated the Calukyan kingdom. Many things quite unwarranted have to be assumed in such an interpretation. As a matter of fact, the Pāṇḍyan kings Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa who is identical with Arikēsari Asamasamaṉ Māṟavarmaṉ and his son Kōccaḍaiyaṉ, should have been contemporaries of Vikramāditya I. In the Bigger Siṉṉamanūr plates,[4] the former is said to have defeated the Cēra king at Nelvēli. No doubt, the same plates attribute to him a victory over the Pallavas at Śaṅkaramaṅgai. But this does not weaken the above argument. The defeat which the Cēra (Kēraḷa) king suffered at the hands of the Pāṇḍya king, is enough to show that a confederacy of the three kings Cōḻa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa was impossible at that period. The Pallava king who was defeated by the Pāṇḍya king might have been Narasiṁhavarma's son Mahēndravarma II. But soon after this in the time of Paramēś-

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 100 ff
2. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 75 ff.
3. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p, 217 ff.
4. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 441 ff.

varavarman I, the Pallavas regained their hold over the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, as is perhaps evident from the synchronism in the names and the titles of the Pallava and the Pāṇḍya kings. While Paramēśvaravarman I was a "*saṅgrāmadhīra*" Kōccaḍaiyan̲ was a "*raṇadhīra*". The latter is said to have defeated the Mahārathās (? the forces of Vikramāditya I) at Maṅgalāpura, probably as an ally of Paramēśvaravarman I, in the struggle between him and Vikramāditya I. Raṇadhīra's son was Rājasiṁha, a name assumed by him after his overlord Rājasiṁha or Narasiṁhavarman II, son of Paramēśvaravarman I. Perhaps he fought on behalf of the last of the Pallava rulers against Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. The latter is described in the early Pāṇḍyan grants[1] as having run away from the battle-field at the sight of the Pāṇḍyan King Rājasiṁha (Mār̲avarman̲). Therefore it is not unlikely that the Pāṇḍyas were subordinate allies of the Pallavas of Kāñcī from the time of Paramēśvaravarman I (or even a little earlier), until the subversion of that family.

In this connection the following fact has also to be noticed, namely that the Cōḷas were not an independent power as is contended by Mr. Panchamukhi.[2] Before the time of Vijayālaya, that is, "from the third or fourth to the ninth century A. D., their condition", as remarked by Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, "is best described as one of suspended animation."[3] There is evidence to show that the Cōḷas were occupying a subordinate position during the time of the "Greater Pallavas". Siṁhaviṣṇu is stated to have conquered the Cōḷa country.[4] Inscriptions prove that his son Mahēndravarman ruled over the Cōḷa country.[5] The Kūram grant[6] of Paramēśvaravarman I enables us to understand that his father Narasiṁhavarman also had the Cōḷas under his sway. Thus, the evidence at our disposal does not support the view that the Cōḷas were then an independent power.[7]

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1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 291 ff.
2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, p. 27, n. 10.
3. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri *"The Cōḷas,"* p. 128.
4. S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 508, ll. 16-17.
5. S. I. I., Vol. I, 33.
6. S. I. I.. Vol. I, 151, ll. 14-15.
7. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri remarks on the title '*Sembiyam*" assumed by Kōccaḍaiyan̲ that it implies "that a part of the traditional Cōḷa country passed under his sway (p. 126 — *The Cōḷas*).

Thus, the interpretation of the term *"avanīpalitritaya"* as referring to Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa kingdoms is beset with many assumptions unwarranted or even contradicted by the known historical facts.

The Ādipurāṇa also does not come in our way, because the explanation of the term *"trairājya"*, so as to refer to Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa is really that of the Hindi commentator, who belongs to the 18th or 19th century. Therefore, he can hardly be relied upon for details of the political configuration of South India, centuries previous to his times.

"*Trairājya*" occurs, as noticed by Mr. Panchamukhi and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, in the Mālepāḍu plates[1] of Puṇyakumāra, a descendant of the Cōḷa King Karikāla. Mr. Panchamukhi only mentions this term but does not discuss its full significance, in his paper. Let us see if this term "*trairājya*" refers to the three powers, the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa. There is one particular point here which makes it difficult to bring in the Cōḷas at any rate, among the three confederate powers. For, the Cōḷa king Karikāla is described therein as *"trairājyasthitim ātmasātkṛtavataḥ"*, "one who obtained for himself the position of (the headships of) the three kingdoms", *i.e.*, one who has conquered the three kingdoms. Whatever might be the triple kingdom referred to by the term *"trairājya"* in the above passage, it certainly does not comprise in it the Cōḷa kingdom, since the hero who claims to have subdued the triple kingdom is the Cōḷa king Karikāla himself. The Mālepāḍu plates describe Karikāla as having worked "many wonders like that of controlling the daughter of Kavēra, overflowing her banks" (*Kavēratanayā-vēlōllaṅghana-praśamana-pramukhādyanēkātiśaya- kāriṇaḥ*). As Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri remarks, "this is the earliest reference to the flood banks of the Kāvērī". This is also the earliest record which refers to his supremacy over the triple kingdom. The traditional story of Karikāla states that Trinayanapallava failed to assist Karikāla in the construction of the banks of the river Kāvērī, and so the latter defeated him and effaced his third eye.[2] The similarity between the early inscriptional

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1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 337.
2. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya — *Trilōcanapallava and Karikāla.*

references to his checking of the Kāvērī overflowing the banks, and to his supremacy over the triple kingdom, and the traditional references to the construction of the banks of the Kāvērī (evidently for controlling the river in floods overflowing her banks) and to his supremacy over Trinayanapallava after defeating him, assumes an interesting importance, if it is admitted that the attributes both in the epigraphical evidence and tradition, refer to the same person, *i. e.*, Karikāla. It would then follow, since there was political animosity between Karikāla and Trinayanapallava, that the former invaded and defeated the latter, — the lord of the three confederate (Pallava) kingdoms (*trairājya*) — and got them under his sway. No ruler other than the Pallava, is expressly stated in tradition as the opponent of Karikāla. The Pallava power was perhaps so great and mighty that subduing it was considered as no mean achievement. The chief Pallava overlord of the three confederate kingdoms (*trairājya*) was later on perhaps symbolised into the Pallava ruler with three eyes (*trinayana*) and as mighty as Trinayana himself. The foregoing discussion makes it abundantly clear that the term "*trairājya*" does not necessarily refer to the three kingdoms, namely Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa, but to a triple kingdom.

Now, it is to be seen whether the passage referred to in the Viṣṇu purāṇa and the location of the Mūṣika kingdom really goes against what was concluded above. Fleet locates the Mūṣikas between Quilon and the Cape Comorin which leads Mr. Panchamukhi to look for the three kingdoms (*trairājya*) somewhere near that locality. Since the only three kingdoms in the extreme south of India are the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa kingdoms, and since the commentator on the Ādipurāṇa definitely enumerates these to explain the term, it is asserted that "*trairājya*" refers only to these three kingdoms. Let us now consider if such a deduction can be maintained in the light of the inscriptional evidence, so far obtained about the Mūṣikas. Only two inscriptions[1] of two Mūṣika chiefs have so far been discovered by the Epigraphical department, one of Udayavaṉmār, alias Irāmaguḍamūvar, and the other of Kaṇḍan, Kārivarman, alias Irāmaguḍamūvar. *Irāmaguḍa* can easily be explained by a reference

1. Ep. Coll., no. 476 of 1926.
Ep. Coll., no. 523 of 1930.

to the Sanskrit work *Mūṣikavaṁśa*[1] which says that the Mūṣikas were descended from Rāmaghaṭa and hence they are called Rāmaghaṭa Mūṣikas. Therefore, the term *Irāmaguḍa* in the epigraphs mentioned above is no other than Rāmaghaṭa. It remains for us now to consider what is meant by the word "*mūvar*" in the term "*Irāmaguḍamūvar.*" In terms like "*Mūvar Koil*", "*Mūvar sey paluval*" and etc., the word "*mūvar*" means three. But the epigraphist has tried to equate it with "*mūttavar*",[2] in the sense of elder or lord. In my opinion, this interpretation is untenable. I, therefore, equate the term "*Irāmaguḍa mūvar*" (equivalent to *Mūṣika-tritaya*) with the term "*trairājya-Mūṣika*" of the Viṣṇupurāṇa.

This term "*Irāmaguḍa mūvar*" has been used as an attribute of each Mūṣika chief so far known. If the term "*mūvar*" in "*Irāmaguḍa mūvar*", "*tritaya*" in "*Mūṣika-tritaya*" or "*trairājya*" in "*trairājya-Mūṣika*" refers, as has been suggested, to Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa, then, what is the meaning in associating the Mūṣika chief thus, with these three kingdoms? It cannot be suggested that the Mūṣika chiefs ever conquered the three kingdoms. On grounds of palaeography, one of those two epigraphs is dated in the eleventh century[3], at a time when the Cōḷa power was at its zenith. So it is absurd to think that the Cōḷas were then subordinate to the Mūṣikas. As a matter of fact historical evidence goes to prove that the Mūṣikas were the subordinates of the Cōḷas themselves. The *praśasti* of the Cōḷa king Rājādhirāja makes it clear that he subdued the "*Irāmagu-*

1. For extracts from *Mūṣikavaṁśa* — see Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. II.

In his excellent paper on "An unidentified territory of India" contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1922, p. 161 ff.) Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar describes the Mūṣika kingdom lying on the west coast of the Dekkan, as extending from Tulu or South Canara to the Kērala dominion. He says that the rulers of the Mūṣika kingdom, of which Kōlām on the river Prathana was the capital, are styled as "*Kōlāttirirājas*" (or rājas whose capital was Kōlām), in the "*Kēraḷōtpatti*". Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar takes the suffix '*tiri*' in '*Kōlātiri*" or *Kōlāttiri*" as "nothing but an adaptation of '*Siri*' (p. 171). But I take it to be the vernacular variant of the Sanskrit word '*tri*', equivalent to "*mūvar*".

2. Ep. Rep. for 1930, p. 87, para 46.
3. Ep. Rep. for 1930, p. 52,—Refer to remarks column.

*ḍamūvar*"[1] ("*Mūṣika-tritaya*"). So this term "*trairājya*" or "*mūvar*" can only refer to the Mūṣikas themselves. In that case, the attribute would signify that the chiefs mentioned above belonged to the Mūṣika confederacy of three kingdoms. Thus, the evidence from the Viṣṇupurāṇa is not at all contradictory to our position, but actually helps us to arrive at a different and definite conclusion.

On the same analogy, the term, "*trairājya-Pallava*" also has to be interpreted as referring to the Pallava confederacy of three kingdoms or the Pallava kingdom having three component parts. This contention is well supported by the passage "*Kāñcīpurīśa-Pallavānvaya-pramāthī parigṛhīta-trairājya rājyaḥ*" attached to Vikramāditya I in the Osumbhala grant[2] of Śryāśraya Śilāditya of the Guzerat branch. The passage was translated by Bhagvanlal Indraji, the editor of the grant, thus: "(who was) the destroyer of the Pallava dynasty ruling over Kāñcī, who took the *trairājya* kingdom". Here "*trairājya-rājya*" is the term explicitly used, which means the kingdom of three component states. The taking of the kingdom of three component states ("*trairājya-rājya*") is only a natural corollary of the defeat of the Pallava king ruling over Kāñcī. Hence "*trairājya*" in the phrase '*trairājya-Pallava*" and the term "*avanīpatitritaya*", which occur in the grants of Vikramāditya have absolutely no reference at all to the three kingdoms, namely Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa; and can refer only to the confederacy of the three Pallava kingdoms, the chief over-lord of which was the lord of Kāñcī.

Now the question may arise as to what were the three component Pallava kingdoms. The difficulty in identifying the three Pallava kingdoms, cannot, in itself, form a very serious objection to our main proposition. We have not been able so far to identify, individually, each of the five Pāṇḍya kingdoms, the three Mahārāṣṭraka kingdoms conquered by Pulakēśin II, and the three Kaliṅga kingdoms. But this fact has not, therefore, prevented us from assuming, on the basis of the unimpeachable evidence of inscriptions, that these kingdoms have existed. Even

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1. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 56.

2. International Orientalists' Congress, Vienna (1886), Vol. I, p. 225, l. 10.

so, there is no serious objection to our postulating that there were three Pallava kingdoms even if we are not able to locate them individually and satisfactorily.

*The home of the Calukyas.*

The next point that deserves attention is the striking discovery of many of the records of the Bādāmi Calukyas in the Ceded districts. This leads us to consider the question of the original habitat of the Calukyas. The following factors emerge from a study of the records Calukyan and non-Calukyan, to help us to come to any conclusion regarding this question.

(i) Most of the inscriptions of the Bādāmi Calukyas have been discovered in the Ceded districts.

(ii) Many of the villages mentioned in these grants are identified with those situated in the Ceded districts.

(iii) Terms like *'vaḍlu'* " *Pañcaśaṇnivartanaparimāṇaṁ-kṣētraṁ-khaṇḍugu-vaḍla-sahitaṁ*"), *'uñchamanna'*, *'māṟuñcha-maṟumanna'* which are vernacular terms occur in the inscriptions[1] of Vikramāditya, his brothers and sons. Like the word *'vaḍlu'*, the terms *'uñchamanna,'* etc., mentioned above are probably Telugu.

(iv) Some of the stone inscriptions[2] of both Vikramāditya and Vijayāditya are in the Telugu language. They are some of the very few early Telugu inscriptions extant.

(v) In the legendary account of the origin of the Calukyas, given in the Naṅdaṁpūḍi[3] grant of the Eastern Cāḷukya king Rāja Rāja, Vijayāditya the progenitor of the Cāḷukya family is said to have been defeated and slain by Trinayana Pallava. Vijayāditya's queen, who was then carrying, came with her *purōhit* to Muḍivēmu, identified with Peddamuḍiyam in the Jammalamadugu taluq of the Cuddapah district. There she was given shelter and nursed by Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Sōmayāji[4] as his own

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 104, l. 28.
   Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. XVI, p. 235, l. 17.
   Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 86, ll. 28-29.
2. Ep. Coll., no. 364-1920.
   Ep. Coll. no. 359-1920.
3. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 300ff.
4. In an inscription from Iṟlapāḍu, ancient Iṟṟalūr (S. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 299, no. 927) we come across a certain Vennayabhaṭṭa Sōmayāji who was the *purōhit* of Trinayana Pallava and who

daughter. In course of time, she gave birth to a male child who was named Viṣṇuvardhana. Having come to know of what had happened through his mother, he went to Caḷukyagiri, worshipped Nandābhagavatī Gaurī, the consort of Śiva, and also appeased Kumāra, Nārāyaṇa and Mātṛgaṇas. Through their favour he obtained the royal insignia and then conquered the Kadaṁba, the Gaṅga and other kings. He, thus, founded the Cāḷukya kingdom.

In this legendary account there are some historical facts that deserve our attention.

As pointed out already, Muḍivēmu is Peddamuḍiyam in the Jammalamadugu taluq of the Cuddapah district. Caḷukyagiri, the mountain on which Viṣṇuvardhana performed penance should be somewhere in its (Peddamuḍiyam's) vicinity. It should have derived its name from its being situated in the original habitat of the Calukyas, just as *Elimalai* or Mūṣika-parvata got its name by its being situated in the territory of the Mūṣikas.

The Kadaṁba and the Gaṅga kings whom Viṣṇuvardhana is said to have defeated in battle had their kingdoms, originally set up in the Ceded districts. The Tālaguṇḍa pillar inscription[1] says that Mayūraśarma established his kingdom in the impregnable forests of Śrīśaila. The nucleus of the Gāṅga kingdom set up by Daḍiga and Mādhava, the two Gāṅga princes, by winning the favour of the Jain *guru* Siṁhanandyācārya was at Gaṅga Pērūr in the Cuddapah district.[2] These two, being perhaps the neighbouring kingdoms, were subdued first by Viṣṇuvardhana and mentioned prominently.

(vi) Calikis were mentioned in the Śrīparvata inscriptions of Nāgārjununikoṇḍa. Mahāsēnāpati, mahātalavara Khanda Caliki Reṁmaṇaka of the Hirañakas is mentioned in one of the ins-

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defeated in discourse, one Gauḍabhaṭṭa. Pleased with the dexterous nature of his argument Trinayana Pallava is stated to have granted to him Iṟralūr in the country to the west of "the Mountain". I take Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Sōmayāji of the legend to be identical with Vennayabhaṭṭa Sōmayāji of the Iṟlapāḍu stone record. Having been a purōhit and a state scholar Vennayabhaṭṭa Sōmayāji was bold enough to give shelter to the queen, when her husband was defeated and slain by Trinayana Pallava, his patron.

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 33ff.
2. Rice — *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 31.

criptions[1] at Nāgārjununikoṇḍa. Any number of instances from inscriptions may be quoted to show that Caḷiki, Saḷuki, Saliki, Calki, Cāḷukya etc., are the variant forms of one and the same word Calukya. Assuming that the word Caliki Reṁmaṇaka was a mistake for *calikiraṇaka*, Sten Konow opined that the word meant moon,[2] which interpretation, I think, is wrong. So "Khanda Caliki Reṁmaṇaka" is Calukya "Khaṇḍa Reṁmaṇaka"[3], the name of an officer under the Ikṣvākus. Khanda is Skanda or Kārtikēya or Mahāsēna, the protecting deity of the Calukyas. He bore the name of Skanda or Khanda, perhaps as a token of his devotion to that deity. If this interpretation is accepted, then the people of the Caliki sect of the Hirañaka clan may be said to have been living about Śrīparvata and holding high positions even during the regime of the Ikṣvāku monarchs. After they came into power these Calikis, imitating their overlords, the Ikṣvākus, perhaps adapted their phraseology "*Virūpākhapati-mahāsēna-parigṛhītasya*",[4] changing it slightly to "*Svāmi-mahāsēna-pādānudhyāta* etc."

Taking into consideration all the facts noted above it is tempting to conclude that the Calikis or Calukyas were originally

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1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 18. *Āyaka-pillar* inscription, B. 4, l. 4.
2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 25, *Post script*.
3. Names ending with the suffixes "*ṇaka*", "*naka*" or "*ṇaga*" like "*Khandasāgaraṁṇaka*", *Khanda Visākhaṇaka*", "*Budhiṁnaka*" and "*ṇikā*" or "*nikā*" like "*Cātisiriṇikā*", "*Haṁmasiriṇikā*", "*Viraṁnikā*,", "*Revatiṁṇikā*" and "*Bapasiriṇikā*" occur in inscriptions from Nāgārjununikoṇḍa. From a perusal of the names mentioned above, it is easy to find that "*ṇikā*" or "*nikā*" was a feminine suffix and "*ṇaka*", "*naka*" or "*ṇaga*", a masculine one. Names with these suffixes are found in inscriptions from Kanhēri, Kārli, Nāsik, Bedsa and Junnār, as has been pointed out by Mr. Sten Konow. Could the persons whose names end with these suffixes belong to the Nāga tribe? In that case, the term "*ṇaka*,", "*naka*" or "*ṇaga*" denotes nāga. Then "*ṇikā*" or "*nikā*", perhaps the contracted form of "*nāganika*" denotes the female member of the tribe. If this interpretation is accepted as probable, then those bearing such names belonging to various clans such as the Hirañakas, the Dhanakas, the Kulahakas and the Pūgiyas or Pūkiyas are to be classed as belonging to the Nāga tribe. Then, Caliki or Calukya would be a sub-division of the Hirañaka clan of the Nāga tribe.
4. Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 15, C. 3 etc.

the inhabitants of the Ceded districts, and were probably living in the neighbourhood of the Śrīśaila and the Rēnāḍu country.

*Text*[1]

First plate.

1. [स्वस्ति ॥ जयत्याविष्कृतं*] विष्णो[र्व्वाराहं क्षोभि*][ताण्र्णवं] [*][1] दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्र[वि]श्रान्त[भु][वनं*]

2. [व] [पुः ॥ श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमनामानव्य*]सगोत्राणां [हारिती][पुत्राणां सप्त*]

3. [लोकमातृभि*][स्सप्त]मातृभिरभिवर्द्धि[ता*]नां [कार्त्तिके] य-[प*]रिर[क्षणप्राप्तकल्याणप*]

4. [रम्प][राणां*] [भ]गवन्ना[रा][य*]णप्रसादसमा[सादितवरा*]-[हलाञ्छ][नेक्षण*]क्ष[णवशी*]

5. [कृ]ताशेषम[ही][भृ*]तां चलु[क्या]नाङ्कु[लमल*]ङ्करिष्णो-र[श्व][मे*]धा[वभृथस्नान*]

6. [पवि*][त्री]कृत[गात्र*][स्य] श्री[पुल-]केशिवल्ल[भ*][म]हाराज-[स्य] [सूनुः*] पराक्र[मा*]

7. [क्रान्तवनवा*][स्या][दिप*]रनृपतिम[ण्ड]लप्रणिब[द्ध][वि*]शुद्ध-कीर्तिः की[र्त्तिवर्म्म*]पृथिवी

8. [वल्लभम*]हाराजस्तस्यात्मजस्स[म*]रसं[सक्त][सकलो*]त्तराप-[थेश्व][र*]श्रीहर्षवर्द्ध

9. [नपरा*]जयोपल[ब्धप*]रमेश्वराप[र][नामधेयस्स*]त्या[श्रय-श्रीपृ]थिवी[व][ल्लभ*]

10. [म]हाराजाधि[रा][जप*][र]मेश्वर[स्त][त्प्रियसुतस्त*][स्य] विक्रमा[दि]त्यपरमेश्वर

Second plate: First side.

11. भट्टारकस्य [म][तिस*][हा]यसाहसमा[त्रसमधि*]गतनिजवंश-समु<u>चित</u>[2]

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1. From the original plates which are in my possession.

2. The interpretation of the words underlined caused me much trouble. I gratefully acknowledge the kind help of some of our learned Sanskrit scholars, specially my esteemed friend Dr.

12. चितराज्याविभ[व][स्य विवि*]धर[सितसि][त][समरमु*]खगत-
रिपुनरपतिवि

13. जय[स][मु*][प]ल[ब्धकीर्त्ति]पताकावभा[सितदिगन्त]रस्य हिम-
करकरविमल

14. [कु]ल[परिभव*][वि]लयहेतुपल्लवपतिपराजयानन्त[र*]परि-
गृहीतकाञ्ची[पु*]

15. [र*][स्य] [प्र]भावकुलिशदलितचोळपाण्ड्यकेरळधरणिधरत्र[य*]

16. [मान][मा]नश्शृंगस्य अनन्यसमवनतकाञ्चीपतिमणिमकुटकु

17. ट[कि][रणसलि*]लाभिषिक्तचरणकमलस्य त्रिसमुद्रमद्ध्य-
[वर्त्तिभुवनम*]

18. ण्डलाधीश्वरस्य सूनुः पितुराज्ञया बालेन्दुशेखरस्ये[व] [सेनानी-
र्दैत्य*]

19. बलमतिसमुद्धतं त्रैराज्यपल्लवबलमवष्टभ्य समस्तवि[ष][य*]

20. प्रशमनाद्विहिततन्मनोनुरञ्जनः अत्यन्तवत्सलत्वाद्युधिष्ठिर इव

Second plate: Second side.

21. श्रीरामत्वाद्वासुदेव इव नृपांकुशत्वात्पर[शु]रा[म]इव राजा-
[श्र]यत्वा[द्धर][त इव*][3]

22. [श्री*] विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभ[महारा*]जाधिरा-
[जपरमेश्व*]र[भ]ट्टा

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V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D., who had given me considerable help in this connection. I have understood the word चित occurring after समुचित in l. 12 to mean 'concealed', 'veiled' or 'rendered obscure'; and I believe that this meaning is quite in keeping with the sense of the passage स्वगुरोः श्रियमवनिपतित्रितयान्तरितमात्मसात्कृत्वा कृतैकाधिष्ठिताशेषराज्यविभवः. The terms सित after रसित in l. 12 and कुट after मकुट in l. 16 have been taken to mean 'arrow' and 'pot' respectively. While editing the Jējūri plates (E. I., XIX, p. ) Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar corrected unnecessarily कुट into कूट. The meaning of the expression तृयमान is not quite clear. The textual emendations त्रायमाण of Dr. Bhandarkar as well as त्रयमान suggested by some scholars who edited Vinayāditya's plates, do not, I am afraid, make the sense better.

3. The significance of this comparison is not quite apparent to me.

23. रकस्सर्व्वानेवमाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वोस्माभिश्चतुर्द्दशोत्तरषट्-छ[तेषु] श[कव*][र्षे]

24. [ष्व]तीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे एकादशे वर्त्तमाने महा[को]ट

25. ती[र्थे]मधिवसति विजयस्कन्धावारे भार्ग्गवसगोत्रस्य षडङ्ग-वि[दः] स्वस्ति

26. शर्म्मणः पौत्राय[4] चतुर्व्वेदविदो हरिदत्तशर्म्मणः पुत्राय त्रिविक्रमशर्म्म[णे*]

27. वेदवेदाङ्गपारगाय पेडेकुल्विषये आलिकुन्दे ग्रामे मा ∞ ञ्छम ∞

28. मन्नो तस्मिन्नेव ग्रामे राजमानेनाष्टोत्तरशतनिवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं दत्तं [॥*] [तदा]

29. गामिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैश्च राजभिरायुरैश्व[र्य्या]दी[नां] विल-[सि*][त]

Third plate: First side.

30. म[चि]रांशुचंचल मवगच्छ[द्भि][रा*]चन्द्रार्कधरा[र्ण्ण]व-स्थिति[स]मकालं

31. यशश्चिचीषुभि[:*] स्वदत्तिनिर्व्विशेषं परिपाल[नी]यं[5] [मु][क्त*]ञ्च भगवतो वेद

32. व्यासेन व्यासेन [॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरा-दिभि [।*]र्य्य[स्य]

33. [य*][स्य] यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [॥*] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुः

34. [खम*]न्यस्य पाल[नं] [। *] दान[ञ्च*] पालनं [श्चे*]ति दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपाल[नं ॥*] [स्व]

35. [दत्तां*] परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [।*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि

36 [वि*][ष्ठा]यां जायते क्रिमिः [॥ *] महासान्धिवि[ग्र]हिक श्रीरामपुण्य[व]ल्ल

37. [भे *] न लिखितमिदं शा[स][न *]मिति [॥ *]...ल [न]मो [न]मः [॥ *]

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4. The engraver of the plate seems to have forgotten to inscribe य at first. Later, he made good the mistake by inserting the omitted letter between त्रा and च down below.

5. Read परिपालनीयमुक्तञ्च.

# "ACCENTUAL VARIATION IN RELATION TO SEMANTIC VARIATION"

BY

C. R. SANKARAN B.A., (HONS.),

*Dip. in German.*

(Continued from Page 318, J.O.R.M., Vol. IX, Pt. IV.)

Let us proceed to see how according to Mādhavabhaṭṭa, the Vedic accent presents a very typical problem in the evolution of pitch tone from a functional, variable, morphological factor to a fixed, independent semasiological entity.

There lies a wide gulf between accent used morphologically as a grammatical process, and accent used semantically. Accent is a fixed element, to be noted down once and for all in the semantic list, being part and parcel of *semantema*, in other words, one of the phonetic elements which give this *semantema* its particular sign-value.

"It is only when tone is used as a variable element, not a part of the *semantema* but an increment to it, by which its primary concept is modified either in a derivational or relational manner, that tone patterns arise, constituting a problem intuitively apprehended by the speaker of a language. In terms of functional value, that is to say, when used as a grammatical element, a particular isolated tone has no meaning, no more than an isolated tone in a melody. It is the whole paradigm of grammatical forms present in the unconscious linguistic mind of the speaker of a language, which makes the melody. Tone used as a functional factor has to be clearly distinguished from tone levelled to a semantic character."[1]

Mādhavabhaṭṭa, taking up the question of vocative accentuation, says that vocatives are accented on the initial syllable if the hearer (*i. e.*, the deity, for the vedic hymns are supposed to have been addressed to the gods) is called out loudly, otherwise unaccented.

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1. *Vide* jaime de Angulo, Tone Patterns and verb forms in a dialect of zapotek. Language, Journal of the Linguistic Society of America, Volume II, (1926). pages 238-247.

आमन्त्रिताद्युदात्तत्वमुच्चैरामन्त्रणे भवेत् ।
नीचैरामन्त्रणे कार्ये पदं सर्वं निहन्यते ॥[1]

On a strictly semantic basis, is explained the loss of accent of an interior vocative. Thus *mitrā-varuṇāu* is unaccented in *ṛtena mitrā-varuṇau* (Ṛv. I, 2, 8). But as both the words *mitrā-* and *varuṇā* are accented in the Dvandvas *mitrā-varuṇā*[2] in *kavī no mitrā-varuṇā tuvijālā urukṣayā* (Ṛv. I, 2, 9.), the compound is not a vocative.[3]

अर्थस्वभावाद्वाक्यस्य मध्यस्थं तन्निहन्यते ।
ऋतेन मित्रावरुणौ कवी नो मित्रावरुणा ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i, 11, 2.)

This kārikā reminds us of what W. L. Graff[4] points out:—"Just as in a musical melody pauses are no less significant than tones, in language the absence of a sound (of accent, also) may have a distinct semantic value. In itself the lack of sound is, of course, absolutely meaningless and non-phonetic; but if the presence of a certain phonetic element is systematically contrasted with its absence so that there results a corresponding contrast of meaning, we are entitled to call such absence a phonetic feature of language. It is not phonetic in the sense that it is positively represented by a sound; but it may be termed phonetic in the broader sense that it belongs either to the systematical or to the rhythmical process of phonetic symbolization. The want of sound (we may take accent also) may be called a phonetic feature because it derives its meaning from the contrasting presence of sound (or accent) in systematically related form. This type of categorical symbolization is more frequent in languages that are more analytical than synthetical."

In this connection, it is worth the mention what J. Vendryes (Language: A Linguistic Introduction to History, English

1. Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i, ii, 1.
2. *See* J. O. R. M., Volume IX, Part II, page 124.
3. Sāyaṇa's comments on this are as follows:—

   मित्रशब्दः प्रातिपदिकस्वरेणान्तोदात्तः ।
   वरुणशब्दो नित्स्वरेणाद्युदात्तः ॥
   द्वन्द्वे देवताद्वन्द्वे च (P. VI, 2, 141.) इत्युभाववशिष्येते ॥
4. Language and Languages, Chapter V, p. 208.

translation by Paul Radin, page 78) says:—"In connection with the morphological value of tones, it must not be forgotten that one important element in certain languages is the zero tone, that is to say, the absence of tone. In Sanskrit, for example, the verb is tonic or atonic according to its particular use in the sentence. Naturally, therefore, in these respective functions, the verb is as clearly characterized by the absence of tone as by its presence."

"This constrains us to add to the morphemes already indicated a still more subtle type, but no less expressive than the others, and which we term the athematic morphemes. These play a considerable role in philology. Their value lies primarily in contrast, but it is no less great for all that. In music the pauses are often quite as expressive as the melody in which they occur, and whose development they break. In conversation too, there are eloquent silences. In language the athematic is as much a morpheme as any other." The same author (*ibid.* p. 74.) defines *semantemes* as the linguistic elements which express the ideas of the concepts (*représentations*) and *morphemes* as those elements which express the connections between these ideas.

The *anomy*[1] in the occurrence of an accented vocative *narā* placed in close juxtaposition with two unaccented vocatives *aśvinā, vṛṣaṇā* in *śunamandhāya bharamahvayat sā vṛkīraśvinā vṛṣaṇā narēti* (Ṛv. I, 117, 18.) is accounted for strictly on a semantic basis. In this connection, it is useful to remember what W. Haskell[2] says, regarding this passage:—"The accentuation here indicates that *narā* alone is the cry of the she-wolf and that *aśvinā* and *vṛṣaṇā* are the utterance of the poet; if all the three vocatives belong to the former, we can hardly avoid amending the reading to *aśvinā vṛṣaṇā nare' ti*". Veṅkaṭamādhava's comments on this passage are as follows:—

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1. "Bramhall's coinage *anomy* is conveniently used here for a breach in the routine of perceptions." *Vide* Karl Pearson, The Grammar of Science, Part I. Third edition, London 1911. page 95.

2. "On the Accentuation of the vocative case in the Ṛg and Atharva vedas. Journal of the American Oriental Society, Volume 11, p. 60.

नरेति परिदेवनासूक्तम् । आमन्त्रितम् उच्चैर्लौकिका वदन्ति तत्कृत-निपात इत्युक्तम् ॥[1]

On the same principle (अर्थस्वभाव), says Mādhavabaṭṭa, is the word *oṣadhīḥ* in the following passage unaccented:—*indrāgnī dyāvāpṛthivī āpa ōṣadhīḥ* (T. S. 1, 2, 1, 2). More examples he adduces, to illustrate same principle

*agne pāvaka rociṣā* (Ṛv. V, 26, 1.)
*ghṛtāhavana dīdivaḥ* (Ṛv. I, 12, 5.)
*gnāvo neṣṭaḥ piba ṛtunā* (Ṛv. I, 15, 3.)
*sakhāyaḥ stoma vāsaḥ* (Ṛv. I, 5, 1.)
*viśve devāso manuṣaḥ* (Ṛv. X, 63, 6.)
*viśve yajatrā* (Ṛv. X, 63; 11.)
*ta ādityaḥ* (Ṛv. X, 63, 7.)

इन्द्राग्नीद्यावापृथिवी यजुष्यस्मिन्निहन्यते ।
बहुष्वामन्त्रितेष्वन्तरोषधीरिति यत्पदम् ॥
अग्नेपावकरोचिषा घृताहवन दीदिवः ।
ग्नावो नेष्टः पिबर्तुना सखायः स्तोमवाहसः ॥
विश्वे देवासो मनुषो विश्वेयजत्रास्त आदित्याः ।
सर्वत्रार्थस्वभावोऽयमूह्यः प्राज्ञैरिति स्थितिः ॥

Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i, ii, 5-7.

Vocatives are treated as extraneous to a sentence[2]

नामन्त्रितङ्कारकवद्वाक्यार्थेनान्वितं भवेत् ।
युवन्नरास्तुवते पेशोमर्या अपेशसे ॥

(*ibid*. Part I, i, ii, 8.)

*yuvam narā stuvate* (Ṛv. I, 116, 7, 117, 7.)
*peśo maryā apeśase* (Ṛv. I, 6, 3.)

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1. Paper Manuscript of the Veṅkaṭamādhava Bhāṣyam, Adyar Library, Vol. I, page 320.

अह्वयच्छुनमन्धाय सा वृकीरिति वक्ष्यति ।
नरेति तत्राद्युदात्तमेवं हि परिदेवनम् ॥

Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i, ii, 4.

*See also* my paper, "Double Accented Vedic Compounds."

2. A Macdonell, Vedic Grammar for students, page 467.

[Compare this last kārikā with the following verse from Vākyapadīya:—

संबोधनपदं यच्च तत् क्रियाया विशेषकम् ।
व्रजानि देवदत्तेति निघातोऽत्र तथा सति ॥ II, 5.][1]

Attention at this stage has necessarily to be drawn to the following sūtras of Pāṇini where he clearly recognises the semantic basis of accent

वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्यासूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनभर्त्सनेषु (P. 8—1—8.)[2]

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1. *Vide* Ṛgvedānukramaṇī. Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 2. Part I, 1932. Appendix II. Notes. Page XL.

In this connection, compare also what Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa says in his Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra under kārikā 16 of Bhāttoji Dīkṣita's Vaiyākaraṇa siddhānta kārikās (Ānandāśrama Series No. 43. page 14).

संबोधनान्तं कृत्वोऽर्थाः
कारकं प्रथमो वतिः ।
धातुसंबन्धाधिकार-
निष्पन्नमसमस्तनञ् ॥ Kārikā 16.

संबोधनान्तस्य क्रियायामन्वयः । त्वं ब्रूहि देवदत्तेत्यादौ निघातानुरोधात् । "समानवाक्ये निघातयुष्मदस्मदादेशाः" इत्यनेन समानवाक्ये तन्नियमात् । उक्तं हि वाक्यपदीये—

"संबोधनपदं यच्च तत् क्रियाया विशेषणम् ।
व्रजानि देवदत्तेति निघातोऽत्र तथा सति ॥"

पचति भवति देवदत्तेत्यादौ तु सूत्रभाष्यादिरीत्यैकवाक्यतासत्त्वात् स्यादेव निघातः । "तिङ्ङतिङः" [P. VIII. 1. 28] इति सूत्रयता तिङन्तानामपि एकवाक्यतास्वीकारात् । एकतिङ् वाक्यं इति वदतां वार्तिककाराणां मते परं न । वस्तुत एकतिङ् विशेष्यकं वाक्यमिति तदभिप्रायस्य हेलाराजीयादौ वैयाकरण-भूषणेऽस्माभिश्च प्रतिपादितत्वात्तन्मतेऽपि भवत्येवेत्यवधेयम् ॥

2. The word वाक्यादेः in the sūtra leads the grammarians to define the sentence. The definition in the Kāśikā is एकार्थः पदसमूहो वाक्यम् "A collection of words, *expressing one idea*, is called a sentence" (S.C. Vasu's English translation of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, p. 1495). This definition is perhaps based upon the well known Mīmāṁsaka definition

"अर्थैकत्वादेकं वाक्यं साकाङ्क्षं चेद्विभागे स्यात्"

(*See* the commentary on verse 2 of Kāṇḍa II of Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*). Be it remembered that this definition emphasises

I give below the interesting comments on this sūtra by Patañjali:—

असूयाकुत्सनमित्येकोऽर्थः । कोपो भर्त्सनमित्येकोऽर्थः । असूयाकुत्सनयोः कोपभर्त्सनयोश्चैकार्थत्वात् पृथक्त्वनिर्देशोऽनर्थकः । न ह्यनसूयन् कुत्सयति ; न चाप्यकुपितो भर्त्सयते । ननु च भो अकुपिता अपि दृश्यन्ते दारकान् भर्त्सयमानाः । अन्ततस्ते तां शरीराकृतिं कुर्वन्ति या कुपितस्य भवति ॥ एवं तर्ह्याह—

सामृतैः पाणिभिर्घ्नन्ति गुरवो न विषोक्षितैः ।
लाडनाश्रयिणो दोषास्ताडनाश्रयिणो गुणाः ॥

(Kielhorn's edition of Mahābhāṣya, Vol. III, p. 367. ll. 6-13)

स्वरितमाम्रेडितेऽसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनेषु (P. 8, 2, 103.)

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*function*, while there is yet another definition which emphasises *form*.

एकतिङ् पदसमूहो वाक्यम्

"A collocation of words *having one finite verb* is called a sentence."

[*Compare also* the following apparently simple definition of sentence. समभिव्याहारो वाक्यम् । Āpadeva's Mīmāṁsā-Nyāyaprakāśaḥ, edited by Paṇḍit A. Chinnaswami Śāstri, Kashi Sanskrit Series. No. 25, Mīmāṁsā section No. I, p. 43]. "Expression of thought is the sole purpose that is served by the use of language; ideas are, again, completely best expressed through the medium of *sentences* as such and not by means of individual words. Jagadīśa

(वाक्यभावमवाप्तस्य सार्थकस्यावबोधतः ।
सम्पद्यते शाब्दबोधो न तन्मात्रस्य बोधतः ॥
*Śabdaśakti Prakāśikā, Kārikā* 12. Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 109 Nyāya section No. 16, p. 63.)

holds that the so called verbal cognition (शाब्दबोधः) is obtained only from a *sentence*, that is, when a number of words having proximity, expectancy and competency with one another are related to one another in such a way as to constitute a significant *sentence* which is alone sufficient to express the sense or communicate ideas to others," *Vide* P. C. Chakravarti. "Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus." Journal of the Department of letters Volume XII, (1925). University of Calcutta, p. 84.

अभिरूपका३ अभिरूपक रिक्तं ते आभिरूप्यम् । अभिरूपका३ अभिरूपक शोभनोऽसि। अविनीतका३ अविनीतक इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जाल्म । शाक्तीका३ शाक्तीक रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ।

आम्रेडितं भर्त्सने (P. 8, 2, 95.)

भर्त्सने पर्यायेण (Vārtika)

भर्त्सने पर्यायेणेति वक्तव्यम् । चौरा३ चौर । चौर चौरा३ । कुशीला३ कुशील । कुशील कुशीला ३ ॥

(Kielhorn's edition of Mahābhāṣya, Vol. III, p. 420, ll. 9-12.)

With regard to the difference of the syllable accent, the Indian grammarians have handed down to us only one case, the so called *Pluti*, the lengthening of a vowel to an extent of three morae. This lengthening as in the instances given above appears generally only in the final syllable (Compare Wackernagel; Altindische Grammatic, I, 297) "The Pluti is used in liturgical utterances and in such expressions in which the voice is raised, like question, calling and greeting". Bezzenberger[1] has compared the *pluta* accentuation of the vocative ending in *-ā* with the accentuation of vocatives in Lettisch like *ziemogō*. According to Hanusz,[2] when calling loudly, the last syllable of a vocative is always lengthened so that it appears to be accented, for instance, *panićȳ*, and Hirt[3] says that a similar thing appears in Serbian where one hears a calling like *Nedelkō* with a raised final syllable while in other places the final accentuation is totally unknown.

[Incidentally these sūtras of Pāṇini clearly point to accents of a spoken language in Pāṇini's time. It is interesting to note in this connection that Kumārila says that Sanskrit of his

1. Bezzenberger, zur lettischen declination II. Einige Vocativ—formen pages 296-299 in Volume 15 of Bezzenberger's Beitrage (1889).
2. Betonung der subst. im kleinruss 36.
3. Idg. Gr. Teil V. pages 184-185.

*See also* Paul Kretschmer, Indogermanische accent-und lautstudien. Kuhn's zeitschrift Band 31 (1892), p. 357.

*Compare also* Friedrich Hanssen, Der griechische circumflex stammt aus der ursprache. Kuhn's zeitschrift Band 27 (1885), pages 612-617.

time was spoken without accents, for they were never heard in the conversation of old men.

न च लोके प्रयुक्तानां पदानां दृश्यते स्वरः ।
व्यवहाराद्बहिर्भूतात् स्वरान्नातोऽर्थनिश्चयः ॥

वृद्धव्यवहाराधीनं शब्दार्थावधारणम् ; तत्र च समासान्तोदात्तत्वपूर्वपद-प्रकृतिस्वरत्वादिप्रयोगविभागाभावान्न तत्कृतार्थविशेषव्यवस्था ।

(Tantravārtika, Benares edition, p. 212.)[1]

B. Liebisch, in his well-known monograph ("Pāṇini" pages 49-50) assumes that the spoken language of Pāṇini's time which formed the basis of his grammar is respresented by the language of the Brāhmaṇas except that of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad which is certainly pre-Pāṇinīan. Bhandarkar while admitting that there is no portion of the Sanskrit literature which accurately represents Pāṇini's Sanskrit as regards the verb and the *taddhitas* or nominal derivatives, believed that Pāṇini's Sanskrit identifiable with that which preceded the epics, (the grammarian being referred to the literary period between the Brāhmaṇas and Yāska) is best represented by the extant verbal portion in the Brāhmaṇas.[2] In our present state of knowledge, we cannot go beyond this except perhaps stating that the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa (the language of which is also undoubtedly pre-Pāṇinīan) is an old Brāhmaṇa, although its antiquity cannot decidedly go as far back as that of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.]

It is a matter of great interest to note the striking parallelism between Maurice Bloomfield's following pronouncement and Mādhavabhāṭṭa's theory. Says M. Bloomfield:—"I assume for old Hindu speech, with most scholars, as habitual the type of sentence in which the subject stands at the head; the verb (predicate) at the end; the varying mass of definitive material in between the two. . . . .

I. A light word (enclitic, or the like follows the verb).

In this class the element placed after the verb is subsidiary, often enclitic (pronoun, or vocative), so that the verb is still relatively at the end. The word after the verb trails in its wake.

1. K. B. Pathak: The Age of Pāṇini and Sanskrit as a spoken language. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol XI, pp. 68-71.

2. *Vide* Bhandarkar's collected works. Vol. IV. Wilson Philological Lectures, Lecture I, pp. 263-273.

The sensation produced by this variation is that of slightly increased speed in the movement from the noun at the beginning to the verb, by reducing the less important and less regulated assorted mass that stands between noun and verb. It costs nothing, so to speak, to reserve a subsidiary element to the time after the main thought has been enunciated. Or, again, some slight word, an enclitic, or a personal pronoun, which does not occur at all in the form with verb at the end, is passed on, as an unimportant extra, to the end of the sentence after the verb."[1] Compare with this the following kārikā of Mādhavabhaṭṭa:—

निघाततिङ्पदस्यार्थं वाक्यान्ते दर्शयेच्छनैः ।
उदात्ततिङ्पदस्यार्थमुच्चैरादौ प्रदर्शयेत् ॥[2]

Still more striking is M. Bloomfield's following argument:—

*āhus te trīṇi divi bandhanāni* (Ṛv. I, 163, 3 d.)
*trīṇi ta āhur divi bandhanāni* (Ṛv. I, 163, 4 a.)

"They say thou hast three conditions in heaven." "The first form, with opening verb, asserts with the emphasis that belongs to a novel statement; the second, with verb in the middle, repeats the same statement musingly or reflectively, as an introduction to a further development of the theme of the hymn. The same feeling accounts for the change in the order of words —this time concerning the position of the relative pronoun— in the following hemistich, which is repeated in catenation in IX, 67, 31 and 32.[3]

*yaḥ pāvamānīr adhyety-ṛṣibhiḥ saṁbhṛtam rasam*
*pāvamānīr yo adhyety ṛṣibhiḥ saṁbhṛtam rasam.*

'He who reads the Pāvamāna stanzas, essence (of the Veda) that they are, compiled by the Ṛṣis (seers)'. In general we may be sure that change of order can have, though it must not have, rhetorical value. Thus VS. 38, 11, and MS. 4. 9. 9.

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1. Maurice Bloomfield: On the variable position of the finite verb in oldest Sanskrit. Indogermanische Forschungen. Vol. XXXI, p. 164. H. Hirt., Idg. Gr. Teil. V. Section 219. p. 352.

2. Quoted already in the first instalment of this paper. Ṛgvedānukramaṇī. Part I. i. i. 4.

3. *See also* Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. 1. 4. 8. 4. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Part I, No. 37, p. 214.

*Cf.* "An increase in the degree of crystallization will decrease the distinctness of the meaning of the element." George Kingsley Zipf, The Psycho-Biology of Language. 1935. page 155.

divi dhāḥ imaṁ yajñaṁ

imaṁ yajñaṁ divi dhāḥ "[1]

Kārikās 2 to 5 in the next section in Mādhavabhaṭṭa's Ṛgvedānukramaṇī which deals with समासस्वर I have already noticed in my article on, "Accentuation in Sanskrit Determinative Compounds" (J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, Part II, pp. 135-146).

In *a-yoddhā* (Ṛv. I, 32, 6), नञ् has no accent, since the second member alone is more important.

अनुदात्तश्च दृष्टो नञ्ञयोद्धेव दुर्मदः ।
तादृशेषूत्तरपदे प्राधान्यमिति निर्णयः ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. iii. 6.)[2]

It is incapacity in *war* that is prominently brought out in this compound.

न यः समर्थो युद्ध इति युद्धासामर्थ्यदर्शनम् ।[3]

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. iii. verse 19.)

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1. Maurice Bloomfield: On the variable position of the finite verb in oldest Sanskrit. Indogermanische Forschungen. Vol. XXXI, p. 158.

2. Regarding the next two Kārikās, *see* J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 147 and my paper "Double Accented Vedic Compounds" Madras University Journal, Jan. 1936.

3. But in *acchinnapatrāḥ* (Ṛv. I, 22, 11) *aprajāh* (Ṛv. I, 21, 5), since the first member of the compound presents itself as being more important, it bears the accent

यदि स्वरः पूर्वपदे तदर्थः प्रस्फुटो भवेत् ।

...................................

अच्छिन्नपत्राः सचन्तामप्रजा सन्त्वत्रिणः

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I. i. iii. 5.)

In this connection the following remarks of Whitney in the course of his review of Delbruck's Syntactische Forschungen Band V (in the American Journal of Philology, Vol. XIII. 1892, pp. 299 and 300) may be read with considerable interest:— "One more example of oversight from the Ṛgveda may be noticed. because our author repeats in regard to it an error which is committed by a whole series of translators and dictionary-and chrestomathy-makers (though the minor Pet. lex. has corrected it). It is the word *ayoddhar*, occurring in verse 6 of the spirited Indra-hymn I. 32 and rendered 'coward' as if literally 'non-fighter'. But this interpretation, according to ordinary rule,

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As whitney says, *indrāsomā* is an example of a peculiar Vedic class of copulative compounds of two names of divinities, each having the dual form which logically belongs to the whole compound only; if this double dual is wanting, the double accent is also wanting, as in *indravāyū* (Ṛv. I, 14, 3) (and not *indrā-vāyū*).[1]

In the following इतरेतरयोग variety of the Dvandva compounds

*indravāyū* (Ṛv. I, 14, 3),

*ṛksāmābhyām* (Ṛv. X, 85, 11),

*indrāgnī* (Ṛv. I, 21, 1.),

the importance of the first member is brought about by the position it is given in the compound and the importance of the second member is brought out by the accent. This is no doubt an ingenious explanation but does not do any special credit to Mādhavabhaṭṭa.

कार्ययोगो यदि द्वन्द्व उभयोरपि दृश्यते ।
स्थिते पूर्वपदस्यार्थे द्वितीयस्यापि सङ्ग्रहः ॥

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would imply the accent *ayoddhar*, while *ayoddhar* is the accentuation belonging to a possessive compound, and the word should mean rather 'not having a fighter' that is, 'not finding any one to fight him', or 'unmatched'. The accent, to be sure, could not be absolutely relied upon to settle the matter, if the connection also did not plainly demand the normal sense. To call *Vṛtra* a coward because he dared to challenge Indra to combat is evidently the height of injustice. The act exhibits rather a foolhardy courage which is precisely what the epithet (*durmada*) in the verse attributes to him".

1. *See* Whitney, the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. X, p. 10. Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, 1871. *See also* J. O. R. M., Vol. IX, Part II, p. 124.

On page 143 of J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, Part II, some collective compounds which are nearly allied to *Dvandvas*, and which accent the last syllable were noticed. It is perhaps due to the influence of the collective compounds that the later *Dvandva* compounds like *indrā-pūṣṇoḥ* accent the last syllable of the compound. (*Cf.* Macdonell: Vedic Grammar 167. Section 262 f-n. 4. *Vide also* Wackernagel: Altindische Grammatik II i. Section 63, p. 153).

अन्तोदात्तस्ततो द्वन्द्व इन्द्रवायू बृहस्पतिम् ।
ऋक्सामाभ्यामभिहिताविहेन्द्राग्नी उपह्वये ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. iii. verses 7 and 8.)

(*Vide* my paper, "Double Accented Vedic Compounds").

The next Kārikā has been already noticed in the second instalment of my paper on the "Five stages of Pre-vedic Determinative Compound-Accentuation . . ." in Vol. IX, Part II, p. 123 (J. O. R. M.).

Accent as an important *morpheme* is pointed out by Vendryes (Language English Translation, p. 77.) "In certain languages accent helps to define the morphological value of the word. By accent we here generally mean pitch accent, *i.e. tone*. In Greek and Sanskrit—and the testimony of these two languages is borne out by several others belonging to the same family such as Lithuanian and Slavonic—tone is as much a characteristic element of the word as a suffix or a formative. Certain forms, identical in all other respects, often differ only in tone; it is tone alone which distinguishes *tómos* 'cut' from *tomós* 'cutting' and marks the difference between active and passive in Greek compounds *patroktónos* 'who kills his father', *patróktonos* 'killed by his father' ".

"The part played by tone is all the more remarkable because Indo-European lauguages, with their exceedingly rich morphology, possessed various ways of expressing the relation between words themselves, and the part such words played in the sentence".

In Sanskrit *indraśatrúḥ* came to mean 'Indra's destroyer' while *índraśatruḥ* came to mean 'having Indra as his destroyer (*Vide* Taittirīya Saṁhitā 2. 4. 12. 1 and 2. 5. 2. 1 and 2 with Mādhavīya Bhāṣya. *See also* Ancient India and Indian civilization by Paul Masson—Oursel, Helena De Willman-Grabowska and Philippe Stern. Part IV. Aesthetic life. Book 1. The Literature of India. Chapter I. Vedic and Post-Vedic Literature VI B. Vedāṅga, p. 244. *See also* O. A. Danielson, Die Einleitung des Mahābhāṣya ZDMG. Band 37, p. 22).

"It is all very well with your theory with regard to the explanation of accentuation in *indrāgnī́* and *indravāyū́*, but what is your explanation of the accent in the compound *sómārudrā* (Ṛv. VI, 74, 1; 2; 3 and 4) occurring in the vocative only ? Is not

*-rudrā* obviously more important than *somā-?*" Were one to ask this question, Mādhavabhaṭṭa has a ready answer.

प्रधान इन्द्रः पूर्वोऽत्र प्रधानः क्वचिदुत्तरः ।

[स सोमारुद्रयोर्द्वन्द्वे मा सहूतीति दर्शनात्][1]

Mādhavabhaṭṭa draws our attention here to the following Ṛk where the Vedic bard makes an apology for inviting *Soma* along with the gods who by no means are his equals. The Ṛk reads thus:—

• मा त्वा रुद्र चुक्रधामा नमोभिर्मा दुष्टुती वृषभ मा सहूती ।

(Ṛv. II, 33, 4.)

Sāyaṇa comments on this as follows:—

हे रुद्र त्वा त्वां नमोभिरयथाक्रियमाणैः नमस्कारैः हविर्भिः वा मा चुक्रधाम । मा क्रोधयाम । क्रुद्धं मा कार्ष्म । क्रुध कोपे । अस्माण्यम् ताल्लुङि चङि रूपम् । हे वृषभ कामानां वर्षितर्दुष्टुती दुस्तुत्याशोभनया स्तुत्या मा चुक्रधामेत्येव । तथा सहूती सहूत्या विसदृशैरन्यैर्देवैः सहाह्वानेन मा क्रोधयाम । श्रेष्ठो हि स्वस्मान्न्यूनेन सहाह्वाने क्रुद्धो भवति ॥

So the Vedic bard explains away his lapse in not giving the prominence which is its due to the word—*rudrā* in the compound *somārudrā*.

The Dvandva compounds of the type *dyāvā-pṛthivī* (Ṛv. X, 63, 9) and *mitrā-varuṇau* (Ṛv. I, 35, 1) are brought under the sūtra देवताद्वन्द्वे च (P. VI, 2, 141). The exceptions to this kind of accentuation as for instance in *indrāgnī* (and the exceptions to these exceptions) are described by Pāṇini in the next sūtra नोत्तरपदेऽनुदात्तादावपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु (P. VI, 2, 142). Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's comments on this sūtra are as follows:—

पृथिव्यादिवर्जितेऽनुदात्तादौ उत्तरपदे प्रागुक्तं न । इन्द्राग्निभ्यां किं वृषणः । अपृथिव्यादौ किम् । द्यावापृथिवी जनयन् । आद्युदात्तो द्यावा निपात्यते पृथिवीत्यन्तोदात्तः । सोमारुद्रौ । [2] "रोदेर्णिलुक् च" (उ. सू. 179)[3] इति रगन्तो रुद्रशब्दः ।

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1. I adopt here the obviously better reading suggested by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Appendix II, Notes p. XLI.

2. This is the reading in Vāsudev Lakṣmaṇ Śāstrī Panśīkar's edition of the Siddhānta Kaumudī. Bombay, 1915, p. 650. The wrong reading रुद्रसोमा is however given in C. Sankararama Śāstri's edition Bālamanoramā Series, No. I, Madras 1929, p. 1200.

3. Bālamanoramā edn., p. 1085.

Interesting are the comments on this by Nāgeśa in his Laghuśabdenduśekhara :—

सोमारुद्राविति । सोम आद्युदात्तो मन्नन्तत्वात्, रुद्र रगन्तत्वादन्तोदात्तः । रुद्रसोमाविति क्वचित्कोऽपपाठः ।

In *Candrakalā* the *ṭīkā* to this, Bhairava-miśra's remarks are as follows:—

सोमारुद्राविति । सोमशब्दोऽत्र चन्द्रवाचको अतनैकशेषः । यद्यप्यभ्यर्हितत्वात् रुद्रशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातो न्याय्यः, तथापि पूर्वनिपातप्रकरणस्यानित्यत्वात् रुद्रशब्दस्य परनिपातः । अपपाठ इति । सोमशब्दस्य आद्युदात्ततयोत्तरपदस्यानुदात्तादित्वाभावेन पृथिव्यादिपर्युदासविषयत्वात् ।

[In this connection, it has to be borne in mind that *somārudrau* is accented only in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 5, 2, 6, 2. (*See* Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, Section 1255 d.)].

Mādhavabhaṭṭa then proceeds to illustrate his theory that the most important and significant element in the compound is worthy of special accentual distinction, by taking the two kinds of accentuation in the Bahuvrīhi compounds. The general rule is पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वर. But उत्तरपदस्वर is not unknown. Hence we have compounds like *kavi-kratuḥ*, (Ṛv. I, 1, 5), *pūtadakṣam* (Ṛv. I, 2, 7) *pañcapādam* (Ṛv. I, 164, 12), *saptacakram* (Ṛv. I, 164, 3) on the one side and compounds like *sūpāyanaḥ* (Ṛv. I, 1, 9), *uru-kramaḥ* (Ṛv. I, 90, 9), *tri-cakreṇa* (Ṛv. I, 118, 2), *tri-ṇābhi* (Ṛv. I, 164, 2) on the other.

बहुव्रीहिषु तात्पर्यं विशेषणविशेष्ययोः ।
अग्निर्होता कविक्रतुरग्नेसूपायनो भव ॥
मित्रं हुवे पूतदक्षं शं नो विष्णुरुरुक्रमः ।
पञ्चपादं सप्तचक्रं त्रिचक्रेण त्रिणाभि च ॥
उदात्तश्चोभयोर्दृष्टः पूर्वस्मिन्नपि चोत्तरे ।
उदात्तानुगुणश्चार्थो दर्शनीय इति स्थितिः ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. iii. verses 11, 12 and 13.)

Mādhavabhaṭṭa then gives examples of *avyayī-bhāva* compounds in illustration of his favourite semantic theory. *anu-kāmam* (Ṛv. I, 17, 3.) *prati-doṣam* (Ṛv. I, 35, 10).

[Sāyaṇa's comments on these are respectively as follows:—

कामस्य पश्चादनुकामम् । अथवा कामे कामेऽनुकामम् । अनुरिह पश्चादर्थे अथवा वीप्सालक्षणे यथार्थे । योग्यता, वीप्सा, पदार्थानतिवृत्तिः, सादृश्यं चेति चत्वारो हि यथार्था गृहीताः । 'अव्ययं विभक्ति' (P. 2, 1, 6.) इत्यादिना अव्ययीभावसमासः । 'अव्ययीभावश्च' (P. 1, 1, 41.) इत्यव्ययसंज्ञायाम् 'अव्ययादाप्सुपः' (P. 2, 4, 82.) इति प्राप्तस्य लुकोऽपवादो 'नाव्ययीभावात् अतोऽम् त्वपञ्चम्याः' (P. 2, 4, 83.) इति विभक्तेरमादेशः समासस्येत्यन्तोदात्तत्वम् ॥ and प्रतिदोषं प्रतिरात्रि । दोषां दोषां प्रति वीप्सालक्षणे यथार्थे । अव्ययीभावः ]

अन्तोदात्तोऽव्ययीभावः सोऽनुकामन्तर्पयेथाम् ।
प्रतिदोषङ्गृणानश्च तादृशाः सन्ति चापरे ॥
अनुकामं विभक्त्यर्थे नानोरर्थोऽस्ति कश्चन ।
पश्चात्कामस्य यद्वास्तु तथाप्यन्ते स्वरो भवेत् ॥
प्रतिदोषङ्गृणानोऽत्र वीप्सां द्योतयति प्रतिः ।
दोषाशब्दो वाचकश्च ततस्तस्मिन् स्वरः स्थितः ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. iii. verses 14, 15 and 16.)

*En passant*, it has to be remarked that L. V. Schroeder (Die Accentgesetze der Homerischen Nominalcomposita dargestellt und mit denen des Veda Vergleichen. Kuhn's Zeitschrift. Band XXIV, p. 102, f-n. 1) believed that the avyayībhāva compounds could have been formed from the accusative singular of the Bahuvrīhi compounds and he instances *anukāma*, *anukāmam; pratidoṣa*, *pratidoṣam; abhimukha*, *abhimukham; pratyakṣa*, *pratyakṣam; ati-mātra*, *ati-mātram* etc. Although it is plausible that many later *avyayībhāvas* can be the mere conversions of the accusative singular of the Bahuvrīhis, the earlier ones do not warrant such an assumption. On the other hand, the old Indo-germanic *avyayībhāvas* may in all probability be the first class of compounds[1], barring of course the earlier loose compounds[2], as

1. *See* my paper, "Double Accented Vedic Compounds".
2. Wanting in accentual unity as opposed to the strict ones whose accentual unity is firmly established. *See* Morris Jones: A Welsh Grammar. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913, p. 57.

What George Kingsley Zipf (The Psycho-Biology of Language. pp. 164-5) says with regard to the early Latin compounds may equally well apply to the earliest primitive Indo-

attested by the fact that there are distinct traces of the accentuation of the first member in these prepositional compounds in many Indo-European languages. For instance Greek *próchnu*, Latin *íllico* (for *ín-sloco*) Low High German *übermorgen* and Middle High German *égester* point out to the Old High German *úbarmorgane* and *égestron* for whose accent there is no evidence in the Old High German period. Perhaps the Gothic *ándaugiba*, OHG *fúrenomes* Otfr. *úmbikirg* (but instead *umbiríng* = Hel. 2945 *umbihríng*), *ínlachenes*, OE. *óndlong* (*ollung*),[1] *ínstœpe* (*s*), *wídersynes*, *órceapes*.[2]

What really is worthy of note to learn from the attributive character of prepositions in the अव्ययीभाव compounds is that they have adverbial sense.[3]

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germanic compounds. " After compounding had become extensive, the individual members of the small score of prepositions must have been looked upon by the speakers as common denominators, in contrast to which the scores upon scores of different roots (nominal and verbal, which happened to be the second member) were deemed the 'important' part of the word, the part worthy of special accentual distinction."

1. For its interesting cognates in old Icelandic and old High German, *see* F. Holthausen, Alt-Englishes Etymologisches Wörterbuch. Heidelberg, 1934, p. 241.

2. *Vide*, Friedrich Kluge, Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Dialekte. III Wort-und satzaccent. Enklitika und Proklitika. p. 397. Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie edited by H. Paul Band I.

3. *Cf.* क्रियाविशेषकः उपसर्गः Mahābhāṣya Vol. I, p. 256. P. C. Chakravarti, Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus. Journal of the Department of letters, University of Calcutta, Vol. XII, 1925, p. 94.

The way in which certain, if not all, adverbs have turned to be Upasargas or prepositions and have lost their independent uses altogether, suggests an instance of the law of specialisation. (*ibid.* p. 164.)

[In J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, Part II and in my paper on "The Double Accented Vedic Compounds" I have indicated how a significant meaning can be read in the statement अव्ययीभाव-तत्पुरुष-द्वन्द्वबहुव्रीहयः ॥ It is interesting to note that this same statement is met with in the Vaiyākaraṇabhūsaṇasāra of Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa under Kārikā 29 of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's Vaiyākaraṇasiddhānta Kārikās, Ānandāśrama Series No. 43, p. 31.]

In J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, Part, II p. 138, the accentuation of compounds whose first member is a preposition and whose last member is a past passive participle has been pointed out and it may not be out of place here to observe that, "dependent determinatives, which have as their second member past passive participles in *-ta* and *-na* or action nouns in *-ti* accent the first member (like a preposition); *e.g.*, *índra-prasūta-* 'incited by Indra', *devá-hita-* 'ordained by the gods', *hásta-yata-* 'guided by the hand', *devá-hūti-* 'invocation of the gods', *dhána-sāti-* 'winning of wealth.'" (Macdonell: Vedic Grammar, p. 95 and 96).

In the following verses in this section, Mādhavabhaṭṭa gives simply the विग्रहवाक्य of all the compounds whose accentuation he has so far discussed in the light of his semantic theory.

The position of the accent of an individual word is different from that of the same word in a compound and this is due to the difference in *meaning*, according to Mādhavabhaṭṭa.

आद्युदात्ताः समासस्था अन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति च ।
अन्तोदात्ताश्चाद्युदात्ताः त्यजन्तः प्राकृतं स्वरम् ॥

(Ṛgvedākukramaṇī, Part I, i. iv. i.)

In the following passages विश्वशब्द has accent on the initial syllable.

*víśve devā́so asrídhaḥ* (Ṛv. I, 3, 9a.)
*víśvam sám atríṇam daha* (Ṛv. I, 36, 20b.)
*pátirvíśvasya bhū́manaḥ* (Ṛv. IX, 101, 7).

The root *viś* belongs to तुदादि and by adding the suffix *kvan* (विशेः कन्) the word *víśva* is obtained. It has accent on the initial syllable by ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम् (P. VI, I, 197.) (*See* J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, Part IV, p. 349).

But in compounds, विश्वशब्द has the accent on the second syllable as in the following passages

*Viśvā́mitrasya rakṣati bráhmedám bhā́ratam jánam*
(Ṛv. II, 53, 12.)

*agním ca viśvā́śambhuvam ā́paśca viśvábheṣajīḥ*
(Ṛv. I, 23, 20.)[1]

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1. *See* J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, Part IV, p. 349. Vol. IX, Part II, p. 131.

Mādhavabhaṭṭa gives a reason for this difference in accentuation. In the simple word *viśva*, the concept of *'pervasion'* (व्याप्त) is denoted—this being the meaning of the radical element *viś*. But in the compound, the meaning of the radical element and that of the suffixal element are both blended and the concept of *'all'* (सर्व) from out of *'pervasion'* arises. Hence by फिषोऽन्त उदात्तः (Phiṭ sūtra 1) the word *viśva-* in the compound gets the प्रातिपदिकस्वर ।

विश्वशब्द आद्युदात्तो विश्वेदेवासोऽस्रिधः ।
विश्वं समत्रिणन्दहपतिर्विश्वस्य भूमनः ॥
अन्तोदात्तः समासस्थो विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ।
अग्निं च विश्वशम्भुवमापश्च विश्वभेषजीः ॥
तत्राहुः कारणमिदं विश्यर्थकेवले स्फुटः ।
समस्ते तु प्रकृत्यर्थः प्रत्ययार्थोपसर्जनम् ॥[1]
दर्शयेदसमस्तार्थमयं व्याप्त इतीदृशम् ।
मित्रं व्याप्तस्य सर्वस्य समस्तेऽर्थं प्रदर्शयेत् ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. iv. verses 2-5.)

वीरशब्द is अन्तोदात्त ।

[The word *Vīra* is formed from the root *aj* (अज गतिक्षेपणयोः) and the suffix रक् when *aj* gets *Vībhāva*.

स्फायितञ्चिवञ्चिशकिक्षिपिक्षुदिसृपितृपिदृपिवन्द्युन्दिश्वितिवृत्यजिनीपदिमदिमुदिखिदिछिदिभिदिमन्दिचन्दिदहिदसिदम्भिवसिवाशिशीङ्हसिसिधिशुभिभ्यो रक् ।

(Uṇādi, 2, 170, p. 1083 of Bālamanoramā edition of Siddhānta-kaumudī.)]

*sa ghā vīro na riṣyati* (Ṛv. I, 18, 4a.)

But in compounds, this word gets the accent on the initial syllable as in

*rayim vahatam suvīram* (Ṛv. I, 34, 12a.)

This has been described by Pāṇini in his sūtra वीरवीर्यौ च (P. 6, 2, 150.) Nageśa in his Laghuśabdenduśekhara says

1. It is printed प्रत्ययार्थोपसर्जनः which is obviously wrong.

वीरो रक्प्रत्ययान्तः and in Candrakalā the following remarks are found:—

तथा चास्यान्तोदात्ततया आद्युदात्तं द्युजित्यस्याप्राप्तिरिति भावः ।

Mādhavabhaṭṭa's view is that as a simple word having the accent on the last syllable, *Vīra* yields the meaning of infusing enthusiasm in the enemy-rank, that is, propelling the foes for vindictive activity. But as a second member of the compound with the accent thrown back on the initial syllable *Vīra* yields to us the meaning of beneficial courage, that is, courage by which something good and noble is wrought.

अन्तोदात्तो वीरशब्दः सघा वीरो न रिष्यति ।
आद्युदात्तो बहुव्रीहौ रयिं वहतं सुवीरम् ॥
अमित्रान्वीरयत्येष इत्यर्थः केवले भवेत् ।
कल्यानवीर्यमित्यर्थं समस्तस्य प्रदर्शयेत् ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. iv. verses 6 and 7.)

In *ṛṣva-vīrasya* (Ṛv. I, 52, 13), since the first member is more important of the two it gets the accent.

तात्पर्यं यदि पूर्वस्मिंस्तदा तत्र स्वरो भवेत् ।
ऋष्ववीरस्य बृहत इति तत्र निदर्शनम् ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. iv. verse 8.)

Sāyaṇa's comments on this compound are as follows:—

वीरयन्ति विक्रान्ता भवन्तीति वीरा देवाः । ऋष्वा दर्शनीया वीरा यस्य स तथोक्तः ।

In my paper on "The Double Accented Vedic Compounds" I have already indicated that a समास is conceived to be that which, though made up of two or more terms, generally produces only one idea in the mind. In *samāsa* the process by which two concepts are combined by the mind—the two concepts being mutually expectant and capable (समर्थ) of being united together to make a harmonious whole—is distinctly traceable. "Compounds thus have a psychological background, none the less important than their external aspect. The primary condition of '*samāsas*' in general is that the words to be compounded must have reciprocal competency (सामर्थ्य) for consistent unification in their

psychological aspect before they are allowed to form a compound by the correlation of their meanings."

According to the ancient grammarians there are five classes of compounds.

पूर्वमध्यान्त्यसर्वान्यपदप्राधान्यतः पुनः ।
प्राच्यैः पञ्चविधः प्रोक्तः समासो वा भटादिभिः ॥

[*Śabdaśakti. Kār.* 33, *Samāsa.* Kashi Sanskrit Series No. 109, p. 194.]

Patañjali recognises four classes:—

इह कश्चित् समासः पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानः । कश्चिदुत्तरपदार्थप्रधानः । कश्चिदन्यपदार्थप्रधानः । कश्चिदुभयपदार्थप्रधानः ।

(Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I, pp. 378, 379.)

According to Patañjali, a compound is to be distinguished from the विग्रह by the following features:—(1) सुब्लोपः elision of case endings (2) अव्यवधानम् extreme proximity (3) यथेष्टमन्यतरेणाभिसम्बन्धः (न) certainty of construction. (4) **स्वरः** *singularity of accent.* (5) संख्याविशेषः (न) non-specification of number, *etc.* I have already discussed about **एकार्थीभाव** and **व्यपेक्षा** (Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 362. Lines 4 to 13) which Patañjali sets as possible explanations of the term समर्थ occurring in the aphorism **समर्थः पदविधिः** (P. 2. 1. 1).

"According to the first view,

[समासे खलु भिन्नैव शक्तिः पङ्कजशब्दवत् ।
बहूनां वृत्तिधर्माणां वचनैरेव साधने ।
स्यान्महद्गौरवं तस्मादेकार्थीभाव आश्रितः ।

(Vaiyākaraṇa Siddhānta Kārikā of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, Kārikā 31, page 33. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series No. 43. *See also* Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's comments on this Kārikā in his Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra)] words with their different meanings, express but one undifferentiated signification when they constitute a compound; and in bringing out such *oneness of sense* they give up their respective denotations to some extent, as, for instance, a person engaged in the work of another man is naturally compelled to leave off his own work".

पुरुषोऽयं परकर्मणि प्रवर्तमानः स्वं कर्म जहाति । तद्यथा, तक्षा राजकर्मणि प्रवर्त्तमानः स्वं कर्म जहाति ।

(*Mahābhāṣya* Vol. I, p. 364, Lines 11, 12.)

The grammarians subscribe to the view that a special expressiveness (*not implied by any member of a compound when taken separately*) is practically acquired by the *samāsas* in virtue of the combination of words and the correlation of their meanings. This is what is known in grammar as

जहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिः [पृथगर्थानामेकार्थीभावः समर्थवचनम्]

(*Vārtika. Mahābhāṣya.* Vol. I, p. 361. Line 26.)

The *Naiyāyikas* hold to a view almost identical with the other view which does not postulate the existence of an *additional expressiveness* (अतिरिक्तशक्तिः).

But the *Bahuvrīhi* compounds present a peculiar difficulty, for in this class of compounds the meanings of the constituent parts are always found to be insufficient to express the intended sense. The *Naiyāyikas* consequently resort to *Lakṣaṇā.*

बहुव्रीहौ न वाक्ये लक्षणा किं तु पदे......अतः तन्निर्वाहिका पदद्वये शक्तिः...समुदायशक्तौ मानाभावात् ॥

(*Tattvacintāmaṇi. Śabdakāṇḍa.* Bibliotheca Indica edition, Calcutta, 1901, pp. 745, 746).

"*Samāsa*, as is implied by the very term, is a grammatical device to secure brevity of speech. In the Vedas we generally meet with two-membered compounds which were mostly determined by the variations of *accents.* Of all classes of compounds, it is especially the *bahuvrīhi* that has got much linguistic advantage, as it enables us to shorten a big expression."[1]

While on the subject of compound-accentuation, it is imperative that the following observations should be made. Brugmann's transpositional theory and Wackernagel's juxta-positional theory with regard to the origin of the *Bahuvrīhi* compounds have been discussed in my paper "The Double

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1. P. C. Chakravarti: Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus. Part II. Semantics. Journal of the Department of letters. Calcutta University, Vol. XII, (1925), pp. 175-178.

*cf.*: " The purpose of a compound is to express a shade of meaning not expressible by the simplex; indeed we can observe in daily speech that such differentiation in meaning is the very purpose of compounding." George Kingsley Zipf, The Psycho-Biology of Language, 1935, page 163.

Accented Vedic Compounds". In that connection, it is useful to remember that the conception opposite to Brugmann's view is generally accepted, namely that the possessive compounds are as old as, if not older than, the determinative and descriptive compounds. According to Jacobi, they are abbreviated relative sentences of *primitive Indo-European* reduced to compounds on account of frequent use. [H. Jacobi, Composition und Nebensatz, Boon 1897, p. 84 ff. *Cf. also* H. Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik IV, p. 38.]

They were thus employed at a time when the copulative verb could be left unexpressed and when the relative pronoun did not exist [*Vide* F.T. Wood, "On the Declension of Substantive Compounds in Lithuanian. The American Journal of Philology, Vol. 50. p. 161.] How this view and that of Brugmann can be reconciled, I have already indicated in the paper referred to above.

In passing, some more instances are given below to prove the earliest formation of loose compounds, without any comment.

*dyāuśca pṛthivī bhūtam urvī* (Ṛv. VI, 68, 4.)

*tvam sūno sahaso* (Ṛv. IV. 2, 2, VI, 50, 9.)

*tvam . . . . duhitar divaḥ* (Ṛv. I, 30, 22.)

*Varuṇa . . . . mitraśca* (Ṛv. VII, 66, 17.)

*Varuṇa mitraśca* (Ṛv. VII, 66, 18.)

*mitrāvaruṇā* (Ṛv. VII, 66, 19.)

*mitra . . . . varuṇaśca* (Ṛv. V, 64, 5.)

*agniśca sōma* (Ṛv. I, 93, 5.)

[*Vide* R. Loewe: Der nominativ fur den Vokativ im Indogermanischen. Kuhn's zeitschrift Band 55 (1928), pp. 200-217.]

*nāsatyā kuhacit santāv aryo divo napātā* (Ṛv. I, 184, 1.)

(*nāsatya-* and *divo napāt* being a special name of *Aśvins. See* Geldner Vedische Studien 3, 72. *nāsatyā-* is an elliptic dual).

[*See* Caland for similar *Tmesis* in Avesta. Caland Kuhn's zeitschrift Volume XXX, 545. Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Avesta (1890). Also *cf.* Bartholomæ, Beiträge zur altiranischen Grammatik X. Avestische dual Verbindungen p. 268 of Vol. X

of Bezzenberger's Beitrage.] *Cf. also Viṣṇū agan Varuṇā* (T.B. 2, 8, 4, 5.) Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Part II, No. 37, (1898), p. 793.

[*Vide* Wackernagel: Altindische Grammatik II, i. Göttingen 1905. S. 63c. pp. 151, 152.]

Interesting is also the parallelism between *narām na śaṁsaḥ* (Ṛv. II, 34, 6.) [and *śaṁso narām* (Ṛv. VI, 24, 2) representing an earlier stage than *narā śaṁsa* T.B. 3, 6, 3. 1. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 37 Part II, p. 999.] on the one side and *dam patis* (perhaps for **das-pati-*, with the substitution of the pause form *dan;* the combination **dems-potis-* probably dates from the Indo-germanic primitive period. *Vide* Brugmann: Grundriss. English Translation. Vol. I, S. 672. f-n. 1, p. 538.) [and *patir dan*] on the other.

It has been suggested that in the earliest loose compounds, the last syllable of the first member was perhaps lengthened to show that the two words in sheer juxtaposition signified a unitary concept. In that context it should not be forgotten while examining compounds *like añjanāvati* that Bender (The suffixes *mant* and *vant* in Sanskrit, p. 11) shows that the distribution of *mant* and *vant* in Sanskrit is strikingly similar, except that *mant* is more common than *vant* after *i.* This exception is no doubt partly due to the influence of the *u-* stems upon the similar *i-* stems. [*Vide* The Relationship of Hittite to Indo-European by E. H. Sturtevant, Transactions of the American Philological Association, Vol. 60, (1929), p. 33].

"Most striking is the affinity of the suffix *mant* for *u-* stems in Indo-Iranian. In Sanskrit *mant* is very rarely attached to *a-* stems, but it is more common than *vant* with *u-* stems. In Avestan *mant* is chiefly used with *u-* stem, while *vant* is chiefly confined to other types of noun. (*See* Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, Third edition, (1896) pp. 473-476. Jackson, Avesta Grammar Part I, Stuttgart 1892. pp. 233-235.) The statistics published by Bender, the suffixes *mant* and *vant* in Sanskrit and Avestan 11, 24, 27 show that the original distribution of these suffixes is accurately preserved in Sanskrit. In Ṛg-veda and Atharva-veda stems *u, ū,* and *o* constitute more than half of all vowel stems with the suffix *mant,* while *vant* is used almost

exclusively after *a* and *ā* and usually after *ī*. On Avestan, *See* Bender, p. 81." [*Vide* E. H. Sturtevant, A Pre-Indo-European change of *u* to *m* after *u* or *ə*. The American Journal of Philology Vol. 50 (1929) pp. 367-369.] The following from Vedic Variants (by M. Bloomfield and Edgerton, 1932. Vol. II, p. 122, S. 238) will be of great interest. "The variation between *mant* and *vant* is shown to depend on the next preceding vowel, without regard to intervening consonants. If that vowel was an *a*- vowel, the *v* form is regular; otherwise the *m* form. In pre-historic times perhaps the *m* form occurred only after *u*- vowels. The difference between this and Bender's formula would concern practically only preceding *i*- vowels, and Bender's work shows that after them *v* is much commoner than after *u*- vowels, which looks towards Sturtevant's position. In any case the original conditions are, of course, much confused in the historic texts, and much more so in the later than in the earlier texts. Our variants, however, show one or two cases in which an irregular form in an older text is replaced by a regular one later. The same conditions appear to apply to other *m* and *v* suffixes that are found with *mant* and *vant*." The rhythmic lengthening of the short vowel before the suffix as in *añjanāvati* is discussed in Vedic Variants Vol. II, Sections 423, 425, 426, 462, 463, 464. For compounds of *a* privative, sometimes lengthened to *ā*, *see* sections 271 and 469 f. *ibid.*[1]

1. We have also a lengthening of the previous vowel before -*bhyām* as in Ṛv. X, 163, 1a. *akṣībhyām*, TS. 7. 3, 16, 1. *hanūbhyām, akṣībhyām, pṛṣṭībhyaḥ*; TS. 7, 3, 16, 2 *śroṇībhyām* KS. *akṣībhyām* (*Aśvamedha Grantha* 159, 20). In the **TS**, thus the feminine *hanu pṛṣṭi śroṇi*- go over to *ū*- and *ī*- inflections. (*cf.* Altindische Grammatik Band III, p. 55, note 5 f. section 68, Esp. *ay*). Wackernagel-Albert Debrunner (Altindische Grammatik III, 54 f. 303, Sections 21 bB. 158 b) explain the Vedic *aṣkībhyām* (instead of the older **akṣabhyām* as can be inferred from Vedic *akṣabhiḥ*) form nominative accusative *akṣī*- and in the note to section 21 bB relates this explanation for TS. *hanūbhyām, śroṇībhyām, citībhyām*. In the third Volume of Vedic Variants (77, 92 Sections 189, 230) this explanation is discarded for *akṣībhyām* and for the long vowel the well known confusion of *i*- and *u*- stems with *ī*- and *ū*- is made responsible. Debrunner reiterates his original view (with which I am in entire agreement)

Before taking leave of the double accented compounds where the last syllable of the first member was lengthened perhaps to show that the two words in sheer juxtaposition go together to signify a single concept, it must be borne in mind with regard to *nū-nu*, that in the Indo-European languages the loss of temporal force goes hand in hand with a tendency toward enclisis of *nu* (particularly after other adverbs) and towards its use predominantly in questions and commands. [*Vide* E. H. Sturtevant: The Relationship of Hittite to Indo-European, Transactions of American Philological Association, Vol. 60, (1929), p. 34].

In discussing the question of the enclisis of the finite verb in principal clauses in Sanskrit, I pointed out[1] that it has been shown by Wackernagel that the Greek verbal recessive accent is nothing more than the enclisis of the finite verb in Sanskrit of the independent clauses extended to all kinds of sentences. Bezzenberger (Die entstehungder griechis chen verbal betonung in Bezzenberge's Beitrage Vol. XXX, pp. 167-175. Compare also, Sind die altindischen Bedingungen der Verbal-enklise indogermanischen by Heinrich Zimmer. Festgruss

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in his short note on Vedic *akṣibhyām* in Indogermanische Forschungen Vol. LIII, (1935) p. 21.

In my paper on, "Double Accented Vedic Compounds", I guessed a reason for the lengthening of *ṣa* into *ṣā* in the compound *naktoṣāsā* (Ṛv. I, 13, 7).

It is interesting to note in that connection that, "under the name of *nakta* n., combined with *uṣas*, Night appears as a dual divinity with Dawn in the form of *Uṣāsā-naktā* and *Naktoṣāsā*, occurring in some twenty scattered stanzas of the Ṛgveda." (A Vedic Reader for students by A. A. Macdonell. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, Impression of 1928. First edition 1917, p. 203.) [The word *naktam* is formed from the stem *nakt*. *Cf.* Latin. *nox=noct-s*. *Uṣas* is from *vas* shine. Compare Greek ēos (for *āus-ōs*). Latin. *aur-ōr-a*].

The vowel *a* of the word *uṣas* is optionally lengthened in the A. s., N. A. du., N. V. pl.: *uṣāsam* beside *uṣas-am*. (Macdonell: A Vedic Grammar for Students, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1916, p. 59, f-n. 1).

1. "Double Accented Vedic Compounds".

an Rudolf Von Roth 1893. pp. 173-175) brought some criticisms against [*Cf.* H. Hirt, Der Akzent. Idg. Grammatik. Teil V, p. 31] Wackernagel's views propounded in his article in the 23rd Volume of Kuhn's Zeitschrift (1876), p. 457 f.g. [But Theoder Benfey followed the same track as Wackernagel. *Cf.* Die Eigentliche Akzentuation des Ind. Praes von *es* and *phā* so wie einiger griech. Präpositionen in Vedica and Linguistica, 1880].

*(To be Continued)*

॥ श्रीमेधादक्षिणामूर्तये नमः ॥

# ॥ श्रीमद्रामायणे शिल्पम् ॥

क. शिवराममूर्तिः, एम्. ए.

काव्यं नाम न तद्विद्यते यस्मिन् शिल्पविषयगन्धोऽपि न संलक्ष्यते। येयं दृश्यते शिल्पवैषयिकी चर्चा सर्वत्र सर्वकाव्येषु नेयमादिकाव्ये विद्यत इति न। सर्वथा वाञ्छितार्थचिन्तामणिः भगवतो वाल्मीकेः कृतिः। किं नाम तद्वस्तु यन्नोपलभ्यते रामायणे॥

शिल्पं च विपुलं शाखोपशाखम्। गीतनृत्तवाद्यचित्रादिकं सर्वमपि शिल्पशब्देन व्यवह्रियते। नितरामुद्वेजयेन्मेधां सर्पराजस्य सहस्रशीर्षस्यापि समग्रस्य शिल्पशब्दाभिधेयस्य कलासमूहस्य विवेचनम्। ततो मादृशस्य सङ्कुचितबुद्धेः अलमनतिप्रौढप्रतिपादनमेव चित्रकथायाः श्रीमद्रामायणे॥

सेयं चित्रकला पटफलकादिगतालेख्यरचनाविधिद्योतनीति सामान्येन सर्वजनैरुद्घुष्यते। तादृशार्थावबोधो महान् भ्रमः। चित्रशब्देनावगन्तव्यं त्रितयं वर्तते—चित्रम्, अर्धचित्रम्, चित्राभासम्—इति। शिलाकाष्ठ-लोहादिना कृता दृश्यसर्वाङ्गा या मूर्तिर्देवादीनां सा चित्रशब्देनाभिधीयते। या च तनुर्देवासुरकरितुरगादीनां भित्तिफलकादौ सक्तेवार्धदृश्यमूर्तिः लक्ष्यते सार्धचित्राभिख्यां भजते। आलेख्यं च पटफलकादिगतं चित्राभासमिति कथ्यते॥

भारतभूमौ चित्रमिति पृथक्कृतं वस्तु न लभ्यते। सर्वत्र सर्ववस्तुगतं चित्रकौशलं दृश्यते। विचित्रवितानादिषु, मनोज्ञकौशेयेषु, उत्तरीयचेलाञ्चलेषु,

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* मद्रपुरीसंस्कृतसेवासमितिवार्षिकश्रीरामनवमीमहोत्सवावसरे उपन्यस्तोऽयं सन्दर्भः।

आभरणजालेषु, परार्घ्यासनेषु, किं बहुना, विविधभाजनेष्वपि दृश्यमानस्य सर्वत्र व्याप्य तिष्ठतः चित्रस्य विषये पार्थक्येन बुद्धिः कुतः ? उपपन्नं च चित्रकौशलसान्निध्यं ताम्बूलकरण्डादिषु सामान्यगृहोपकरणेषु । सर्वथा शिल्पि-कौशलोपपादितमेव तीर्थामत्रादिषु मकरमुखादि, उद्धरण्यादिषु नागभोगादि ॥

तदत्र रामायणे शिल्पमाकलयतामस्माकं विचित्रानेकवस्तुकौशलेन चित्रीयते मनः । विविधप्राकारगोपुरतोरणाद्यलङ्कृताः प्रासादसहस्रसंबाधा नगर्यः, अतिकुशलकारुवरनिर्मितानेकचारुतरविचित्ररथाः, मणिजालखचितदान्त-सौवर्णादिपत्रलतालङ्कृतविविधशिबिकाश्चेति यत् बहुविधवस्तुजालमुपवर्ण्यते रामायणे भगवता वाल्मीकिना तत्प्राचीनशिल्पवृत्तान्तजिज्ञासूनामस्मादृशाना-मुपयुक्ततमम् ॥

कविभिरनवरतं यद्वर्ण्यते नृपात्मजादीनां कलादिषु नैपुण्यं तन्नितरां स्पष्टीभवति रामाभ्यस्तशास्त्रकलासन्ततिसमाख्याने । कादम्बर्यादिषु काव्येषु चन्द्रापीडादयः सकलशास्त्रकलाधीतिनः कथ्यन्ते । स्त्रियोऽपि शलाकालेखनादिषु कुशला अभिधीयन्ते त्रिविक्रमभट्टेन । अतिदुष्करमपि सुकरमिव विचित्रतरं वस्तु प्रतिपादितं महर्षिणा कथयता शाखामृगानपि गीतवादित्रकोविदान् किष्किन्धाकाण्डे श्लोकयोरनयोः—

'इतश्च नातिदूरे सा किष्किन्धा चित्रकानना ।
सुग्रीवस्य पुरी रम्या भविष्यति नृपात्मज ॥

गीतवादित्रनिर्घोषः श्रूयते जयतां वर ।
नर्दतां वानराणां च मृदङ्गाडम्बरैः सह ॥' IV. 27. Ṡls. 26, 27.

को नामात्र विस्मयो यद्रामः सर्वकलापारदृश्वा । अभिधया नोक्तं वाल्मीकिना कलासु आसु अमुकनाम्नीषु रामः कुशल इति । व्यञ्जनयोक्तं भगवता प्रश्नतेमं श्लोकम् ॥

'वैहारिकाणां शिल्पानां विज्ञातार्थविभागवित् ।' II. 1. Ṡl. 28.

इति । किमिदं वैहारिकशिल्पमित्यस्यावबोधः सुखतरं भवति कालिदासीय-शाकुन्तलाध्येतॄणाम् । तत्र चानेन महाकविना विनोदस्थानतया चित्रलेखन-माख्यातं दुष्यन्तमुखेन—'चतुरिके ! अर्धलिखितमिदं विनोदस्थानमस्माभिः' —इति विरचयता । इममेवार्थमुररीकुर्वन्नाह दामोदरगुप्तः कुट्टनीमते—

'मांसरसाभ्यवहारः पुरुषाहतिपीडया न तु स्पृहया ।
आलेख्यादौ व्यसनं वैदग्ध्यख्यातये न तु विनोदाय ॥' 307

इति । वैहारिकविनोदशब्दयोः शिल्पशब्दपूर्वगतयोः एकार्थद्योतनशक्तेरिदमवगतं भवति,—सन्ति बह्वयस्ताः कलाः शस्त्रास्त्रादिमोक्षणरूपाः याः शरीरक्लेशायैव केवलम् ; अपराश्च ता गीतनृत्तचित्राद्याः चित्तविनोदावहाः—इति । तदमुमेवार्थं मनसि कृत्वा महर्षिणोक्तं पृथक् शस्त्रास्त्रादिकौशलं रामस्य ॥

अत्र किञ्चिदवगन्तव्यं भवति । न केवलं चित्रकरादयश्चित्रलेखनादिषु निपुणाः । कलाज्ञानं तेषामाजीविकार्थम् । कलेत्येव कृत्वा विनोदार्थमभ्यस्तं चित्रादि नागरकैः, राजसुतैः, अन्यैश्च रसिकैः । तत्प्रायशः सर्वैरेवाभ्यस्यमाना चित्रगीतादिकलाः कीदृशीं स्थितिमनुबभूवुः पुरेत्यत्र विषये प्रश्नस्यावकाश एव कुतः ? अन्यच्च राजसुतादीनामाढ्यानां सुकुमारकलादिशिक्षाभिनिवेशे कारणमुदाहरन्नाह क्षेमेन्द्रः चारुचर्यायाम्—

'आपत्कालोपयुक्तासु कलासु स्यात् कृतश्रमः ।
नृत्तवृत्तिर्विराटस्य किरीटी भवनेऽभवत् ॥' 72

इति । तत्सर्वथा श्रीरामस्य कलाशिक्षणं सर्वमिदमस्मान् प्रतिबोधयति ॥

तथा च कलाशास्त्रार्थविदुषां राजकुलोत्पन्नानां कीदृशोऽभूत् कलास्वादः इति युक्तोऽयं विचारः । अत्र च चित्रविषयमनुसरतामस्माकं वाच्योऽर्थः स एव । प्रासादेषु याश्चित्रशाला वर्ण्यन्ते तत्र तत्र ता एव राज्ञां राज-कुलोत्पन्नानां च कलास्वादं डिण्डिमोद्घोषेण प्रकटयन्ति । चित्रशालाश्चेदं-प्रथमतया रामायणे कथिता दृश्यन्ते । ततोऽप्यर्वाचीनं भूरि विद्यते तदितरकाव्येषु चित्रशालावर्णनम् । सकललोकभाषाकाव्यमाधुर्यसाररूपे सुन्दर-

काण्डे महर्षेः कवितासर्वस्वसारद्योतनी रावणनिवेशनवर्णना, यत्र नानाविध-गृहमुख्येषु चित्रशालागृहाद्याख्यातं दृश्यते श्लोकेष्वमीषु—

'लतागृहाणि चित्राणि चित्रशालागृहाणि च ।
क्रीडागृहाणि चान्यानि दारुपर्वतकानि च ॥
कामस्य गृहकं रम्यं दिवागृहकमेव च ।
ददर्श राक्षसेन्द्रस्य रावणस्य निवेशने ॥ V. 7. Śls. 36, 38.

*Cf.* स तस्य मध्ये भवनस्य मारुति-
र्लतागृहांश्चित्रगृहान्निशागृहान् ।
जगाम सीतां प्रति दर्शनोत्सुको
न चैव तां पश्यति वामलोचनाम् ॥ V. 12. Śl. 1.

*Cf.* आपानशाला विचितास्तथा पुष्पगृहाणि च ।
चित्रशालाश्च विचिता भूयः क्रीडागृहाणि च ॥' V. 12. Śl. 13.

चित्रशालाश्च त्रिविधा लक्ष्यन्ते—नृपसौधगताः, पौरादिगृहवर्तिन्यः, सार्वजनीन्यश्च नगरमध्यप्रतिष्ठिताः—इति । विभागश्चैष तत्र तत्र काव्येषु शिल्पग्रन्थेषु चोपलभ्यते । सार्वभौमस्य रावणस्य गृहे किं नाम तद्यन्नोपलभेमहि । नैका चित्रशाला तस्य भवने । बहुवचनेनैवोक्तं रामायणकविना 'चित्रशालागृहाणि च' इति । चित्रागाराश्च पृथगन्तःपुरे, पृथग्जलमण्डपे पृथगन्यत्र तत्र तत्रेति काव्येषु कथ्यन्ते । धनपालेन तिलकमञ्जर्यां विविधानि निरूप्यन्ते चित्रसद्मानि । 'रणितमणिना भूषणचक्रवालेन वाचालयन्ती चित्रशालिकां शय्याममुञ्चत्' (p. 238) '...प्रविश्य बन्धुसुन्दरीद्वितीया शयनचित्रशालाम्...' (p. 246) इत्यादिवाक्येषु तिलकमञ्जर्याम् 'विचित्र-चित्रशालिनि शय्यागृहे' इत्यस्मिंश्च नलचम्प्वाम् शयनचित्रशालाः कथ्यन्ते । 'अतिविचित्रानेकचित्रशालं जलमण्डपमगच्छत्' (p. 88) इत्यस्मिंस्तिलकमञ्जरीवाक्ये 'शाला वा ह्यभिषेका सर्वविचित्रान्विता सभा तत्र' इति मयमतोक्तजलमण्डपचित्रशालिका निर्दिश्यते । इत्थं च चित्रशालिकाया अनेकरूपत्वाद् बाहुल्याच्च 'चित्रशालागृहाणि च' इति महर्षिणेरितम् ॥

अन्तःपुरे च वधूविहारार्थं चित्रशालाः पृथगभिधीयन्ते काव्येषु । 'अधिरुह्यान्तःपुरप्रासादमिमम् अस्याश्चित्रशालिकायाः प्राङ्गणवितर्दिकोपविष्टां समाश्लिष्य देवीम्' (p. 24.) इति यत्तिलकमञ्जर्यामुपलभ्यते तद्दृष्टान्तायालम् । अयोध्याकाण्डे कैकेयीनिलयं वर्णयता वाल्मीकिना अन्तःपुरगताः चित्रशालाः बह्वयो निर्दिष्टाः

'स कैकेय्या गृहं श्रेष्ठं प्रविवेश महायशाः ॥
पाण्डराभ्रमिवाकाशं राहुयुक्तं निशाकरः ।
शुकबर्हिणसंघुष्टं क्रौञ्चहंसरुतायुतम् ॥
वादित्ररवसंघुष्टं कुब्जावामनिकायुतम् ।
लतागृहैश्चित्रगृहैश्चम्पकाशोकशोभितैः ॥
दान्तराजतसौवर्णवेदिकाभिः समायुतम् ।' II. 10. Śls. 11-14.

इत्येषु श्लोकेषु । विषादस्येयं महती भूमिर्यदस्याश्चित्रशालिकाया नाम केवलमुच्चार्य विरराम वाल्मीकिः । विपुले च काव्ये तस्य न कुत्राप्यङ्गप्रत्यङ्गवर्णनं चित्रगृहस्य विद्यते । तेन चालेख्यगृहस्य निवेशादिकं तद्गतचित्रादिवर्णनं च रामायणेतरकाव्येभ्य एवास्माभिरवबोद्धव्यम् ॥

चित्रकराः कीदृशा वर्ण्यन्ते? तेषां सम्भावना कीदृशी राज्ञा कृता? इत्येतादृशस्य प्रश्नजालस्योत्तरं रामायणे लभ्यत एव । चित्रकराः, कारवः, शिल्पिनः, वर्धकय इत्यनेके सौधादिनिर्मातारः, शिलादार्वादितक्षकाः, पटफलकाद्यालेख्यकराश्चात्र विषये विवक्षिता भवन्ति । भवननिर्माणे, देवतायतनघटने, यज्ञशालाविधाने, शिलादारुतक्षणे, दारुचित्रोपरि राजतसौवर्णादिपत्रारोपणे चेत्येतादृशेषु करणेषु किं नाम तद्यत्र विना चित्रकौशलं सुकरं भवति कार्यम् । तत्केवलं रङ्गाजीवा एव नात्र विचार्याः ॥

शास्त्रज्ञाः, कुशलाः, वृद्धाः, परमधार्मिका एव शिल्पिनस्तत्र तत्र कार्येषु नियुक्ता भूभृता दशरथेन । बालकाण्डे हयमेधार्थं यज्ञवाटस्य तदङ्गभूतभूसुरभूनाथाद्यावसथानां च निर्माणे शिल्पसंघानाज्ञप्तान् वर्णयन्नाह वाल्मीकिः—

'ततोऽब्रवीत् द्विजान् वृद्धान् यज्ञकर्मसु निष्ठितान् ।
स्थापत्ये निष्ठितांश्चैव वृद्धान् परमधार्मिकान् ॥
कर्मान्तिकान् शिल्पकरान् वर्धकीन् खनकानपि ।
गणकान् शिल्पिनश्चैव तथैव नटनर्तकान् ॥
तथा शुचीन् शास्त्रविदः पुरुषान् सुबहुश्रुतान् ।
औपकार्याः क्रियन्तां च राज्ञां बहुगुणान्विताः ॥
ब्राह्मणावसथाश्चैव कर्तव्याः शतशः शुभाः ॥
न चावज्ञा प्रयोक्तव्या कामक्रोधवशादपि ।
यज्ञकर्मसु ये व्यग्राः पुरुषाः शिल्पिनस्तथा ॥
तेषामपि विशेषेण पूजा कार्या यथाक्रमम् । I. 13. Ṡls. 6-10, 15-16.
कारिताः सर्व एवैते शास्त्रज्ञैर्यज्ञकोविदैः ।
शोभार्थं तस्य यज्ञस्य काञ्चनालङ्कृताभवन् ॥
एकविंशतियूपास्त एकविंशत्यरत्नयः ।' I. 14. Ṡl. 24.

इति । 'वृद्धान् परमधार्मिकान्' इति यदुक्तं रामायणे स्थपतिवर्णनावसरे तदनूक्तं भवति शिल्परत्ने यत्र शिल्पिलक्षणकथने श्लोकाविमौ श्रीकुमारस्य—

'स्थपतिः स्थापनार्हः स्यात् सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ।
न हीनाङ्गोऽतिरिक्ताङ्गो धार्मिकस्तु दयापरः ॥
........................................................
चित्रज्ञः सर्वदेशज्ञः सत्यवादी जितेन्द्रियः ।
अरोगी चाप्रमादी च सप्तव्यसनवर्जितः ॥'

इति । 'शास्त्रविद्' इत्यस्य विशेषणस्य शिल्पिनः दशरथोक्तस्य 'सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः' इत्यत्रैव श्रीकुमारवाक्ये लक्ष्यतेऽनुवादः । शास्त्रकुशलप्राशस्त्यं चोद्घुष्य कथितं विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे—

'शास्त्रज्ञैः सुकृतैर्दक्षैश्चित्रं हि मनुजाधिप ।
श्रियमावहति क्षिप्रमलक्ष्मीं चापकर्षति ॥'

इति । महाराजाधिराजेन भोजेनाख्यायते महान् दोषः शास्त्रानभिज्ञस्य कार्याभिनियोगे । दृश्यते च तस्यायमाशयः समराङ्गणसूत्रधारे—

'अशास्त्रज्ञेन घटितं शिल्पिना दोषसंयुतम् ।
अपि माधुर्यसंपन्नं न ग्राह्यं शास्त्रवेदिभिः ॥'

इत्यस्मिन् । 'शुचीन्' इति प्रयुञ्जानस्य विशेषणं वाल्मीकेरभिमतमिव द्योतयन्नाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरकारः—

'चित्रायोगे विशेषेण श्वेतवासा यतात्मवान् ।
ब्राह्मणान् पूजयित्वा तु स्वस्तिवाच्य प्रणम्य च ॥
प्राङ्मुखो देवताध्यायी चित्रकर्म समाचरेत् ।'

इति । अयमेवार्थः प्रतिपादितः कविना राजशेखरेण काव्यमीमांसायां शौचस्यावश्यकतां कविचित्रकरयोः कथयता यस्येयं भणितिः "अपि च नित्यं शुचिः स्यात् । त्रिधा च शौचं वाक्शौचम्, मनःशौचम्, कायशौचं च । प्रथमे शास्त्रजन्मनी । तार्तीयीकं तु सनखच्छेदौ पादौ, सताम्बूलं मुखम्, सविलेपनमात्रं वपुः, महार्हमनुल्बणं च वासः, सकुसुमं शिर इति । शुचि शीलनं हि सरस्वत्याः संवननमामनन्ति । स यत्स्वभावः कविस्तदनुरूपं काव्यम् । यादृशाकारश्चित्रकरस्तादृशाकारमस्य चित्रमिति प्रायो वादः ।" X इति ॥

'यज्ञकर्मसु ये व्यग्राः पुरुषाः शिल्पिनस्तथा ।
तेषामपि विशेषेण पूजा कार्या यथाक्रमम् ॥' 1. 13. Śls. 15, 16.

इत्यस्य दशरथाज्ञापितस्य शिल्पिसभाजनस्य सहेतुकविचारो दृश्यते शिल्परत्ने यत्र विविधकारणाख्यानानन्तरं ब्रवीति स्म श्रीकुमारः—

'तस्मादेष सदा पूज्यः स्थपत्यादिचतुष्टयः' ।

इति । सा च संमानना चित्रकराणां कीदृशील्यस्योत्तरं बहुत्र काव्येषु स्फुटतरमुपदीयते । 'सितकुसुमविलेपनवसनसत्कृतैः सूत्रधारैरादीयमानविवाहवेदीसूत्रपातम्' (p. 142) इत्यमुं हर्षचरितनिर्मातुर्गिरम्,

'तस्यापहसितत्वष्टुस्तक्षकर्मणि शिक्षया ।
विस्मितोऽयं स्मितं कुर्वन्नर्घ्यैरर्चयति स्म तम् ॥' (p. 5, Sl. 53.)

इति श्लोकमवन्तिसुन्दरीकथासारविरचयितुः, "कचिद्दर्शनपथावतीर्णेषु शीर्णदेवायतनेषु कर्मारम्भाय सपदि सम्पादितपूजासत्कारान् व्यापारयतः" (p. 54) इति धनपालस्य वाक्यं च तिलकमञ्जर्यां कलयतामस्माकं स्पष्टतरा समुज्जृम्भते शिल्पसम्माननासरणिः ॥

'ताम्बूलद्वयमासनं च वृणुते यः कान्यकुब्जेश्वरात्'
इति यद्वचः श्रीहर्षस्य येन धरणीश्वरोपपादितासनरूपा अभ्यर्चा द्योत्यते तस्य च समर्थनं कर्तुं शक्यं रामायणगतैरेव कैश्चन श्लोकैः येषु राजसभायां कविवराणाम्, षडङ्गवेदविदुषाम्, शास्त्राधीतिनाम्, चित्रगीतादिकलाचतुराणां चाभ्यर्हणा कथ्यते विष्टराद्युपवेशनरूपा । उत्तरकाण्डे चेयं वल्मीकप्रभवस्य वर्णना सभायाः सम्राड्वरस्य श्रीरामभद्रस्य

'अथ कर्मान्तरे राजा समाहूय महामुनीन् ।
पार्थिवांश्च नरव्याघ्रः पण्डिचान्नैगमांस्तथा ॥
पौराणिकाञ्शब्दविदो ये च वृद्धा द्विजातयः ।
स्वराणां लक्षणज्ञांश्च उत्सुकान् द्विजसत्तमान् ॥
लक्षणज्ञांश्च गान्धर्वान्नैगमांश्च विशेषतः ।
पादाक्षरसमासज्ञांश्छन्दःसु परिनिष्ठितान् ॥
कलामात्राविभागज्ञाञ्ज्यौतिषे च परंगतान् ।
क्रियाकल्पविदश्चैव तथा काव्यविदो जनान् ॥
भाषाज्ञानिङ्गितज्ञांश्च नैगमांश्चाप्यशेषतः ।
हेतूपचारकुशलान् वचने चापि हैतुकान् ॥
छन्दोविदः पुराणज्ञान् वैदिकान् द्विजसत्तमान् ।
चित्रज्ञान् वृत्तसूत्रज्ञान् गीतनृत्तविशारदान् ॥
शास्त्रज्ञान् नीतिनिपुणान् वेदान्तार्थप्रबोधकान् ।
एतान् सर्वान् समानीय गातारौ समवेशयत् ॥ VII. 94. Sls. 4-10.

इति । विद्वज्जनगोष्ठीषु चित्रकरस्याप्यास्थानसाद्मनि नृपतेरासननिर्देशरूपामर्हणामेव केवलं कथयत्यत्र वल्मीकजन्मा मुनिः । कुत्र कस्य स्थानमित्यासनविन्यासक्रमः, तत्र च चित्रकरस्य संनिवेशनिर्णयश्चेत्येतद्विषयस्याकलनं न कृतं रामायणकविना । सर्वमिममर्थमालोच्य विरचयांबभूव काव्यमीमांसायां राजशेखरकविः 'राजा कविः कविसमाजं विदधीत । राजनि कवौ सर्वो लोकः कविः स्यात् । स काव्यपरीक्षायै सभां कारयेत् । सा षोडशभिः स्तम्भैश्चतुर्भिर्द्वारैरष्टभिर्मत्तवारणाभिरुपेता स्यात् । तदनुलग्नं राज्ञः केलिगृहम् । मध्येसभं चतुःस्तम्भान्तरा हस्तमात्रोत्सेधसमणिभूमिका । तस्यां राजासनम् । तस्य चोत्तरतः संस्कृताः कवयो निविशेरन् । बहुभाषाकवित्वे यो यत्राधिकं प्रवीणः स तेन व्यपदिश्यते । यस्त्वनेकत्र प्रवीणः स सङ्क्रम्य तत्र तत्रोपविशेत् । ततः परं वेदविद्याविदः प्रामाणिकाः पौराणिकाः स्मार्ता भिषजो मौहूर्तिका अन्येऽपि तथाविधाः । पूर्वेण प्राकृताः कवयः, ततः परं नटनर्तकगायनवाग्जीवनकुशीलवतालावचरा अन्येऽपि तथाविधाः । पश्चिमेनापभ्रंशिनः कवयः, ततः परं चित्रलेप्यकृतो माणिक्यबन्धकाः स्वर्णकारवर्धकिलोहकारा अन्येऽपि तथाविधाः । दक्षिणतो भूतभाषाकवयः, ततः परं भुजङ्गगणिकाः प्लवकशौभिकजम्भकमल्लाः शस्त्रोपजीविनोऽन्येऽपि तथाविधाः ।" X. अ. इति । एतच्चावगतं भवत्यनया शिल्पिसम्भावनया रामायणे तदितरकाव्येषु चाख्यातया । एतादृशार्हणापात्रभूताश्चित्रकरादयः परस्परजयापजयमसहमानाः स्पर्धया कलां पुपुषुरित्यत्र न कोऽपि संशयः । स्वभाव एष जन्तोः यद्राजसम्भावनया तृप्यति मनुष्यजन्मा । न तादृशी प्रीतिः सुवर्णकोटिलाभे यथा नृपतिदत्तशाटिकायां वैदुष्यचिह्नभूतायाम् । अधुनापि दृश्यन्ते खलु बहवः श्रवणमात्रसुभगानां बिरुदावलीनां कृते भूरिप्रयासमनुभवन्तो धनव्ययमपि विपुलं कुर्वन्तो जनाः । अनेन सुविशदं प्रकटीक्रियते भ्रमोऽयं महान् 'धनप्रभवः प्रमोदः' इति ॥

विचारश्चासौ युक्ततर एव कीदृशमिदं शिल्पं येन शिल्पिसार्थैस्तथा तोषिताः पृथिवीपा इति । जानते च रामायणाध्येतारः शिल्पिसार्थस्य कौशलं गोपुरतोरणाद्यलंकृतविविधसौधशतभासुरपुरीनिर्माणे, विविधचित्रपत्रमकरिकाद्यलंकारशतभासुरविचित्रानेकरथतक्षणे, सुन्दरतरचतुरस्रयानविधाने चेत्येतादृशचित्र-

तरवस्तुशतसम्पादने । श्रूयन्ते च भारतभूमौ स्वस्तिकसर्वतोभद्रादिविविधविन्यासक्रमाः प्रासादानाम्, ग्रामाणाम्, पत्तनानां च शिल्पग्रन्थोक्ताः । दौर्भाग्यस्येयं परा काष्ठास्माकं यन्नामान्यप्येषां विभागानां न जानन्त्याधुनिका वास्तुविद्याविशारदा इत्यलमतिविस्तरेण दुःखनिदानकथायाः । स्फुटतरमाख्यायते च रामायणे शिल्पग्रन्थोपपादिता स्वस्तिकवर्धमानादिभवनघटना । तादृशी भवननिर्माणक्रमशोभा लङ्कायां यदस्या दर्शनेन भृशं तुतोष पवमाननन्दनः । तथा च सुन्दरकाण्डे---

'गृहमुख्यैः पुरी रम्या बभासे द्यौरिवाम्बुदैः ॥
प्रजज्वाल तदा लङ्का रक्षोगणगृहैः शुभैः ।
सिताभ्रसदृशैश्चित्रैः पद्मस्वस्तिकसंस्थितैः ॥
वर्धमानगृहैश्चापि सर्वतः सुविभूषिता ।
तां चित्रमाल्याभरणां कपिराजहितंकरः ॥
राघवार्थं चरन् श्रीमान् ददर्श च ननन्द च ।' V. 4. Ṡls. 6–9.

बहुभूमिकालिन्दचन्द्रशालादिसम्पादितमौन्नत्यं भवनानामतिशोभावहमिति वस्तु प्रकटयन्निव वर्णयामास रावणनिवेशनमतिसुन्दरं मुनिसिंहः । स्थालीपुलाकन्यायेन वीक्षमाणानामस्माकमलं तत्र तत्र केचन श्लोकाः प्रतिपादयितुमुद्दिष्टार्थम्—

'कैलासशिखरप्रख्यमालिखन्तमिवाम्बरम् ।
डीयमानमिवाकाशमुच्छ्रितैर्भवनोत्तमैः ॥' V. 2. Ṡl. 23.

'निवेशनानां विविधाश्च शालाः
प्रधानशङ्खायुधचापशालाः ।
मनोहराश्चापि पुनर्विशाला
ददर्श वेश्माद्रिषु चन्द्रशालाः ॥' V. 7. Ṡl. 2.

'तदप्रमेयाप्रतिकारकृत्रिमं
कृतं स्वयं साध्विति विश्वकर्मणा ।

दिवं गतं वायुपथे प्रतिष्ठितं
व्यराजतादित्यपथस्य लक्ष्मवत् ॥' V. 8. Śl. 2.

'मेरुमन्दरसंकाशैरालिखद्भिरिवाम्बरम् ।
कूटागारैः शुभाकारैः सर्वतः समलंकृतम् ॥
ज्वलनार्कप्रतीकाशं सुकृतं विश्वकर्मणा ।' V. 9. Śls. 14, 15.

इति श्लोकेष्वमीषु भवनौन्नत्यद्योतनमेव व्यापारः प्रयुक्तपदानाम् 'डीयमानमिवाकाशम् उच्छ्रितैर्भवनोत्तमैः', 'वेश्माद्रिषु', 'दिवं गतम्', 'मेरुमन्दरसङ्काशैः' इत्यादीनाम् ॥

ध्रुवमभिमुखावलोकनमेव रुचिरतरं भवनानां यत्र विचित्रतोरणालङ्कृतद्वारशोभा चक्षुषोरानन्दजननी । तत एव मकरतोरणादि सर्वथा शिल्पिसार्थैर्यत्नघटितं सर्वत्र देवगृहेषु दृश्यते पूर्वभागे । तोरणाश्च विविधाः । तेष्वन्यतमो लतातोरणाख्यः । स च विविधलतापत्रमुकुलादिविविधचित्रोत्कीर्णः । मकराकृतिविचित्रश्च मकरतोरणः । लङ्कायां पत्रतोरणाः कथ्यन्ते द्वारदेशेषु श्रीरामायणे—

'तोरणैः काञ्चनैर्दीप्तां लतापङ्क्तिविचित्रितैः ।
ददर्श हनुमांल्लङ्कां दिवि देवपुरीमिव ॥' V. 2. Śl. 18.

गृहद्वारेषु प्रायशः सर्वत्र समुत्कीर्णा कारुभिरधुनापि दृश्यते या मूर्तिः कमलालयायाः करधृतसरसिजकरियुगसेव्यमानायाः तस्या अपि निर्देशः संदृश्यते सुन्दरकाण्डे पुष्पकवर्णनावसरे—

'नियुज्यमानास्तु गजाः सुहस्ताः
सकेसराश्चोत्पलपत्रहस्ताः ।
बभूव देवी च कृता सुहस्ता
लक्ष्मीस्तथा पद्मिनि पद्महस्ता ॥'
V. 7. Śl. 14. इति ।

अतिविवृतमुखेषु सिंहिकावक्त्रसोदरायमाणेष्वाधुनिकगृहाणां वातायनेषु दंष्ट्रायन्ते केचन कालायसदण्डाः । तदमीषां शोभा कीदृशीत्यस्य विचारः

पिशाचानामुचितः, न शिल्पशास्त्रजिज्ञासूनाम् । वातायनस्य नामान्यद्विद्यते गवाक्ष इति । कुतस्तादृश्यभिख्या तस्येत्यस्यावबोधः सुकर एव । पुरा वातायनानि जालविचित्रितानि । तत एव गवाक्षस्य जालमित्यपरं नाम । आकृतिमनुकुर्वन् धेनुनयनस्य यत्र जालसन्ततिरुत्कीर्यते काष्ठतक्षा तत्र गवाक्षनामधेयस्यान्वर्थता । जालवातायनसौन्दर्यविषये सर्वशिल्पकोविदाभ्युपगते वावदूकता कालविलम्बनाय केवलम् । ये नामात्र विषये विप्रतिपद्यन्ते पश्यन्तु ते विचित्रजालवातायनानि तुरुष्कजनभवनचैत्यादिषु प्रसिद्धेषु । अन्वर्थनामानः पुपुषुः शोभां गवाक्षाः प्राचीनभारतीयसदनानाम् । तद्युक्तमाख्यानं गवाक्षशोभाया राक्षसेन्द्रपुरीगृहमुख्यरामणीयकवर्णने—

'प्रासादमालाविततां स्तम्भैः काञ्चनराजतैः ।
शातकुम्भमयैर्जालैर्गन्धर्वनगरोपमाम् ॥' V. 2. Sl. 51.

'जालवातायनैर्युक्तं काञ्चनैः स्फाटिकैरपि ।
इन्द्रनीलमहानीलमणिप्रवरवेदिकम् ॥' V. 9. Sl. 16.

'विमानं पुष्पकं दिव्यमारुरोह महाकपिः ।' V. 9. Sl. 19.

'मणिसोपानविकृतां हेमजालविराजिताम् ।' V. 9. Sl. 22.

इति । अलमेतावता विचारेण भवनादिशोभायाः यत्र शिल्पिजनकौशलमपेक्ष्यते नितराम् । अधुना च पश्यामः कीदृशाः कारवः पुरेति ॥

कारुषु रथकारा इति केचन ये स्यन्दननिर्माणकुशलाः । अधुनापि दृश्यन्ते केचन विरलास्तत्र तत्र तदन्ववायसंभवाः प्राचीनमिमं शिल्पमुपजीवन्तो देवतायतनरथनिर्मितिमात्रव्यापाराः । तत्रापि प्राचीनशिल्पाभिमानविमुखैः, अनाघ्रातभगवद्भक्तिगन्धैरत एव रथवाहनादिकं बालेन्दुमौलेरुत्सवादिषु नितरां परिहसद्भिर्न केवलमुपेक्ष्यमाणा अपि तु विडम्ब्यमानाः कारवः अतिजर्जरामाजीविकां कथमपि क्लेशेन धारयन्तीत्यहो पदं महद्विषादस्य । ये चांशाः भगवदुत्सवस्यन्दनेष्वधुनापि दृश्यन्ते ते सर्वे नितरां पुरातना इत्यस्यावबोधाय रामायणगतरथवर्णनैवालम् । अत्र चामी श्लोकास्तत्र तत्र रथवर्णनापराः—

'ततः पर्वतसंकाशमारुरोह रथोत्तमम् ।
वैयाघ्रं पुरुषव्याघ्रो राजतं राजनन्दनः ॥
मेघनादमसम्बाधं मणिविद्रुमभूषितम् ।
मुष्णन्तमिव चक्षूंषि प्रभया सूर्यवर्चसम् ॥
करेणुशिशुकल्पैश्च युक्तं परमवाजिभिः ।' II. 16. Śls. 28-30.

इत्ययोध्याकाण्डे रामार्थमानीतो रथः सुमन्त्रेण । अरण्यकाण्डे च खर-स्यन्दनवर्णनायां बहु ज्ञेयवस्तु विद्यते ।

'तं मेरुशिखराकारं तप्तकाञ्चनभूषणम् ।
हेमचक्रमसम्बाधं वैदूर्यमयकूबरम् ॥
मत्स्यैः पुष्पैर्द्रुमैः शैलैश्चन्द्रसूर्यैश्च काञ्चनैः ।
मङ्गलैः पक्षिसङ्घैश्च ताराभिरभिसंवृतम् ॥
ध्वजनिस्त्रिंशसंपन्नं किङ्किणीकविराजितम् ।
सदश्वयुक्तं सोऽमर्षादारुरोह खरो रथम् ॥' III. 22. Śls. 14-16.

रामार्थं वासवेन प्रेषितः सुन्दरतमो रथः कथ्यते युद्धकाण्डे—

'ततः काञ्चनचित्राङ्गः किङ्किणीशतभूषितः ।
तरुणादित्यसंकाशो वैदूर्यमयकूबरः ॥
सदश्वैः काञ्चनापीडैर्युक्तः श्वेतप्रकीर्णकैः ।
हरिभिः सूर्यसंकाशैर्हेमजालविभूषितैः ॥
रुक्मवेणुध्वजः श्रीमान् देवराजरथो वरः ।' VI. 103. Śls. 6-8.

अत्र प्रथमोद्दिष्टस्य रामरथस्य वैयाघ्र इति कथनं व्याघ्रचर्मावृतत्वात् यथा पाण्डुकम्बलेनावृतः स्यन्दनः पाण्डुकम्बलीत्याख्यायते । अधुनापि पश्येम विविधलतापत्रमृगादिविचित्रकम्बलावरणान् स्यन्दनान् देवतोत्सवेषु । खररथ-वर्णने च विचित्रविविधवस्तुतक्षणसम्पादिता शोभा स्यन्दनस्याख्यायते । पुष्य-रथाद्यनेकविधा रथाः । विशिष्टतया रथेष्वन्यतमस्य भूसुरयानार्हस्य ब्राह्मस्यन्दनस्य

कथनात् रथनानात्वं न केवलमभ्युपगतं रामायणे किंतूपपादितम् । अत्र चायं रथनिर्देशकः श्लोकः—

> ' स्वयं वसिष्ठो भगवान् ययौ रामनिवेशनम् ॥
> उपवासयितुं रामं मन्त्रवन्मन्त्रकोविदः ।
> ब्राह्मं रथवरं युक्तमास्थाय सुधृतव्रतः ॥ ' II. 5. Śls. 3, 5.

इति । पुनश्चान्यत्र ब्राह्मणारूढा रथा गोरथा इति कथ्यन्ते ये वृषभयुग्याः—

> ' समाहिता वेदविदो ब्रह्मणा वृत्तसंमताः ।
> गोरथैर्भरतं यान्तमनुजग्मुः सहस्रशः ॥ ' II. 83. Śl. 16.

स्वर्णकाराणां शिल्पं तत्कृताभरणजालैरेव परीक्ष्यते । रामायणे च विविधमणिखचितभूषणानामियत्ता वर्णनाया न विद्यते । अत्रापि विशिष्टनिर्देशमर्हन्ति काश्चन भूषाः । गोशृङ्गाग्रे सुवर्णभूषा सुन्दरतमा ॥

> ' सुवर्णशृङ्गाः संपन्नाः सवत्साः कांस्यदोहनाः ।' I. 72. Śl. 23.

इत्यत्र कथ्यते । यदतीव सुकुमारसूक्ष्मा यत्नखचिताश्च भूषाः तद्दुकूलास्तृतशयनं विहाय स्थण्डिले सुप्तायाः सीतायाः सक्ता भूषणांशाः कनकबिन्दवस्तत्र तत्र । बिन्दवश्च ते सूचयन्ति सीतायाः शयितक्रमं भरताय ।

> ' इयं शय्या मम भ्रातुरिदं हि परिवर्तितम् ।
> स्थण्डिले कठिने सर्वं गात्रैर्विमृदित तृणम् ॥
> मन्ये साभरणा सुप्ता सीतास्मिञ्शयने शुभा ।
> तत्र तत्र हि दृश्यन्ते सक्ताः कनकबिन्दवः ॥ ' II. 88. Śls. 13, 14.

अनेनोदाहरणेनैकेन केवलं सम्यगुपपादितं भवति नाडिंधमजनशिल्पकौशलम् ॥

इतश्च पुस्तक्रियायामभिनिवेशः कीदृशस्तत्कर्म जानतामिति विषयस्य परीक्षां कुर्याम । उत्तरकाण्डोक्तं सुवर्णनिर्मितं सीतायाः प्रतिरूपं के न

ज्ञानते ? एक एवात्र मुख्यांशो वक्तव्यः । आधुनिकभौतिकशास्त्रचुञ्चुभिर्योऽसौ निर्मितः कोऽपि मानवाकृतिर्महान् लोहयन्त्रसञ्चारी प्रतियातनापुरुषस्तस्य 'भवेदीदृशः' इति तत्सत्ता, तादृशस्य वस्तुनः करणे शक्तिश्चेत्युभयम् अभ्युपगम्यते रामायणे । ईदृशः कुतस्ते तर्क इति वृथासौ प्रश्नः । स्पष्टमुक्तं विभीषणेन रामायणे—

'कुम्भकर्णं समीक्ष्यैव हरयोऽद्य प्रविद्रुताः ।
कथमेनं रणे क्रुद्धं वारयिष्यन्ति वानराः ॥
उच्यन्तां वानराः सर्वे यन्त्रमेतत् समुच्छ्रितम् ।
इति विज्ञाय हरयो भविष्यन्तीह निर्भयाः ॥' VI. 61. Śls 32, 33.

इदं मनसि कृत्वा कथयत्यङ्गदः—

'महतीमुत्थितामेनां राक्षसानां विभीषिकाम् ।
विक्रमाद्विधमिष्यामो निवर्तध्वं प्लवङ्गमाः ॥' VI. 66. Śl. 7.

इति । यदि नाम नाभूवन्नतिबृहल्लस्तादृश्यो विभीषिकास्तदा नूनं न विश्वसेयुः कपयः । अतस्तादृशसञ्चारियन्त्रपुरुषकरणशक्तिरङ्गीकर्तव्या पुस्तकोविदेषु लोहकारेषु ॥

निकामं विषयानवलोकयतः कोऽप्यवधिर्न विद्यते रामायणे । विचित्रवस्तुनिकराकर इव भाति रामायणम् । दीपवृक्षादयो वस्तुजालाः कथ्यन्ते भूरि तत्र । अथ कोऽसौ दीपवृक्षः । उत्सवदिनेषु तत्र तत्र रथ्यासूद्दीपितास्ते वर्ण्यन्ते—

'प्रकाशीकरणार्थं च निशागमनशङ्कया ।
दीपवृक्षांस्तथा चक्रुरनुरथ्यासु सर्वशः ॥' II. 6. Śl. 18.

देवायतनेष्वद्यापि दृश्यन्ते तत्र तत्रेदृशा दीपवृक्षाः । शाकम्भरीदेव्या आयतनस्य पुरतः प्रतिष्ठितं वातापिनगरसमीपे दीपवृक्षमेकं महान्तं सर्वेऽप्यद्यापि पश्येयुः । असौ च महानलङ्कारः पत्तनस्य ॥

कति शाखाः शिल्पस्येत्येतच्च वक्तुं न पार्यते। बहवः शिल्पिनः कथ्यन्ते रामायणे—

'मणिकाराश्च ये केचित् कुम्भकाराश्च शोभनाः।
सूत्रकर्मकृतश्चैव ये च शस्त्रोपजीविनः॥
मायूरकाः क्राकचिका रोचका वेधकास्तथा।
दन्तकाराः सुधाकारास्तथा गन्धोपजीविनः॥
सुवर्णकाराः प्रख्यातास्तथा कम्बलकारकाः।
स्नापकाच्छादका वैद्या धूपकाः शौण्डिकास्तथा॥
रजकास्तन्तुवायाश्च ग्रामघोषमहत्तराः।
शैलूषाश्च सह स्त्रीभिर्ययुः कैवर्तकास्तथा॥' II. 83. Śls. 12-15.

विषयाश्चैतादृशाः कथ्यमाना न यान्त्यन्तम्। तदलं स्थूलदृष्ट्या किंचिदिवोपपादितं शिल्पं रामायण इति कृत्वा विरम्यते॥

## TANJORE FRESCOES.

In his Note on the Tanjore Frescoes (Vol. IX, p. 363 ff. above) Mr. S. Paramasivan advocates a twelfth century date for them. He reaches this conclusion on the ground that in these frescoes is painted the story of Sundaramurti reaching the Kailāsa on a white elephant preceded by Śēramān̲ on horseback, and that this incident 'emanated from Śēkkil̲ār's imagination.' He cites in a note a remark from *The Cōḷas* Vol. I p. 18 in support of this view. Conceding, for the sake of argument, the correctness of Mr. Paramasivan's identification, I would draw his attention to Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi's *Tiruttoṇḍar Tiruvandādi* verses 44 and 45 on Śēramān̲ Perumāḷ Nāyan̲ār where this incident is mentioned. How much earlier than Nambi's time this incident or any other given by him became part of Śaiva hagiology, we seem to have no means of deciding at present. But it is clear that the story of Sundaramūrti's journey to Kailās on a white elephant is anterior to Śēkkil̲ār's time.

When I examined the frescoes *in situ* some years ago together with Mr. S. K. Govindaswami very soon after he had discovered their existence, I thought that they must be cœval with the temple itself (See *The Cōḷas* Vol. I, p. 199 *n.*), and I have as yet seen no reason to change this view.

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.

# REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

PRAKATARTHA-VIVARANAM: A COMMENTARY ON THE BRAHMA-SUTRA-BHASYA OF SRI SANKARA. VOL. I (MADRAS UNIVERSITY SANSKRIT SERIES, NO. 9) EDITED BY T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., PH.D., SENIOR LECTURER IN SANSKRIT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS, 1935. pp. xx, 588. Price Rs. 6.

There are a number of commentaries on Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta-sūtras*, although only a few of them have been printed and are in common use. This commentary has for long been known by name, since it is referred to by Advaitic writers like Ānandajñāna and Appayya Dīkṣita; but hardly any one knew that manuscripts of it were extant. All credit is, therefore, due to the enterprising editor who has made it available in print. The volume now issued contains only about one half of the work (from the beginning to the close of the second *pāda* of the second *adhyāya*); and the remaining part of it, we are informed, will soon be published as a second volume. Generally these commentaries follow, in their interpretation of the *bhāṣya*, what is known as the Vivaraṇa school; and the present one also does the same. From the dispar ging terms, however, in which its author speaks of Vācaspati Miśra (p. x), it appears that he entertained an aversion to the other or Bhāmatī school as it is commonly styled. He is also often hard on Bhāskara and Keśava (*cf.* pp. 220 & 55) who, like Śaṅkara, have commented upon the *Vedānta-sūtras*, but differ considerably from him in their interpretation.

The *Prakaṭārtha* seems to have served as the basis of the familiar, but more elaborate, commentary by Govindānanda, known as the *Ratna-prabhā*. We may cite in support of this dependence the remarkable coincidence of terminology between the two works as, for example, in the explanation of *sūtra* I. i. 23. Like the *Ratna-prabhā*, it is written in a simple style and its exposition is uniformly clear. It also explains briefly but lucidly the numerous *śruti* passages cited in the *bhāṣya*. But the author

indulges, particularly in the earlier part of the work, in the use of out-of-the-way verbal forms which, while they may point to his proficiency in grammar, also indicate his weakness for grandiloquent expressions. Bādarāyaṇa, it is well known, does not specifically criticise the Nyāya system as he does the other systems, including the Vaiśeṣika. This deficiency is supplied in the present work at the end of the second *pāda* of the second *adhyāya*, which is devoted to the refutation of views that are at variance with Advaita. The work also contains long discussions of controversial topics, like the nature of *tamas* (p. 139) and the need for postulating *śakti* as a separate *padārtha* (p. 291), to which there is only a passing reference in the original. The date of the commentator cannot be ascertained definitely. The learned editor suggests a relatively early date for him. In fact, he describes the work as 'the first complete commentary on the *Bhāṣya*' excepting only the *Bhāmatī*. But for detailed arguments in support of it, we have to await the publication of the second volume of the work in the Introduction to which he promises to consider the problem fully. The only point that is certain so far is that it is later than Udayana (984 A. D.) whom it mentions more than once, There is a stray reference to a *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* (in *Sāṅkhya-sūtra-kṛt*) on p. 388, but it is difficult to say what work, if any, is meant by it. It is not merely the date of the author that remains undetermined; his name also is unknown. None of the five manuscripts, used in preparing this edition, gives any clue to it; and even the old writers who cite his opinions do not seem to have been aware of it, for they refer to him only by the descriptive title of Prakaṭārtha-kāra. This is a fact which shows with what detachment ancient Indian writers pursued their avocation, and must appear very strange in these days of copyright and author's alliances.

The editing has been carefully done, and the get-up of the book is quite neat. The printing of the *bhāṣya* along with the commentary is a great help to the student, although it has raised the price of the volume somewhat. The Sanskrit Department of the Madras University has already added more than one old and important work to the printed literature relating to Indian thought; and it is to be heartily congratulated now on making another valuable addition to it.

M. H.

THE BRHADARANYAKOPANISAD WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SANKARACARYA—TRANSLATED BY SWAMI MADHAVANANDA WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PROFESSOR S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRIAR AVL. M.A., I.E.S., PUBLISHED BY THE ADVAITASRAMA, MAYAVATI, ALMORA, HIMALAYAS. xviii + 960 pages. *1934.

The Bṛhadāraṇyaka, among the major Upaniṣads is the most important for the Advaitin for in it is contained the quintessence of Advaitic thought. Śrī Śaṅkara's commentary on this Upaniṣad is, therefore, of immense value to the student of Indian philosophy in general and Advaita Vedānta in particular. The predecessors of Śaṅkara wrote commentaries on this Upaniṣad and many of them were Advaitins but they held views that were in several respects contradictory to those of Śaṅkara's. Bhartṛprapañca and others represented the school of Advaita which in later days came to be designated as the Bhedābheda school of Advaita Vedānta. Dramiḍācārya represented an allied but different school of philosophic thought. Śaṅkara, writing after these philosophers of repute emphasised the defects in the interpretation of these writers and exposed the fallacies in their argument and established the *nirguṇa-brahma* aspect of Advaita Vedānta The *bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara therefore contains a clear statement of the development of philosophic ideas in the days prior to him and in the sense that it contains the history of the philosophy of Advaita Vedānta it is doubly important. An authoritative English rendering of this Upaniṣad itself was a desideratum and more so of the Commentary of Śaṅkara. Svāmi Mādhavānanda to whom we are all indebted has rendered a distinct service to the students of Advaita Vedānta. who are not sufficiently familiar with the Sanskrit language and its grammatical and philosophic technicalities by making the contents of the Bhāṣya available in lucid, clear and elegant English.

Himself a scholar of great repute, Svāmi Mādhavānanda has had the valuable help of eminent scholars in this meritorious undertaking. The authenticity of the translation is therefore assured. Mahāmahopādhyaya Kuppuswami Sastriar, in his informing and masterly introduction, has given a clear analysis of the essential elements in the Advaitic system of philosophic thought as expounded by Śrī Śaṅkara in his Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya. Particular attention may be drawn to the following extract from the concluding portion of the Introduction:—

"Some alien and alien-minded scholars are not inclined to see any systematic presentation of a philosophical doctrine in the Upaniṣads and believe that the Upaniṣads including even the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, form a spiritual conglomerate of several things of varying value belonging to different stages—of thaumaturgic pebbles, dualistic and pluralistic toys and monistic gems. Those who carefully study the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, and Śrī Śaṅkara's great bhāṣya thereon, cannot easily resist the feeling that the Bṛhadāraṇyaka thought is an integral whole which is rooted on the Advaita doctrine and has as its precious fruit, which uses a sound system of exposition and dialectics easily lending themselves to being expressed in the terms of the Gautamīya logic, and which refuses to accomodate itself in a satisfactory manner to any form of pluralistic realism or to any kind of the timid spiritual and metaphysical compromises involved in the bhedābheda (difference-cum-identity) phases of monistic thought belonging to the pre-Śaṅkara or post-Śaṅkara stage in the history of Vedānta."

This publication is in perfect keeping with the traditions of the Ramakrishna Mission. Śrī Ramakrishna was a jīvanmukta and it is therefore in the fitness of things that under the auspices of that Mission this volume should have been published. The author deserves our grateful thanks for this undertaking; he would have made us much more indebted to him, had he given us, wherever necessary, the arguments contained in the Vārtikas of Sureśvara. The printing and get-up of the work leave nothing to be desired. The use of proper diacritical marks would have certainly enhanced the value of the publication.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

KATYAYANASMRTISARODDHARA - VYAVAHARA. TEXT (RECONSTRUCTED) TRANSLATION, NOTES AND INTRODUCTION—BY P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M., ADVOCATE, BOMBAY. xxxix + 116 + 372. 1933. Price Rs. 4.

Mr. P. V. Kane is already familiar to students of Indology as the author of several treatises, covering a wide range of subjects. Alaṅkāra, Mīmāṁsā, and Hindu Law happen to be his special *forte*. His History of Dharmasastra Vol. I was recently reviewed in the columns of this journal and it is now followed up by this notice.

Those that are conversant with the growth of the Dharmaśāstra literature cannot but be struck with the fact that a mass of original works on Dharmaśāstra are not available to us, copies of such works having been completely lost to us. To mention only a few—the Smṛti of Bṛhaspati, of Śaṅkha-Likhita, of Hārīta, of Kātyāyana and a host of other writers of old are not available at present. For a proper perspective of the development of Hindu Law, jurisprudence, morality, social laws etc. a correct understanding of the texts of ancient writers is necessary and we are much handicapped when we do not find the works of many of those writers. A reconstruction therefore of the texts of the lost works of old writers will go a great way towards a correct appreciation of the value of their works. Several scholars have therefore attempted such a reconstruction and the work under notice is the second of such attempts of Mr. Kane, the first being his reconstruction of the Dharmasūtra of Śaṅka-Likhita. Mr. Kane is an eminent lawyer and it is but natural that he should devote a good deal of his attention to the Vyavahāra section of Dharmaśāstra.

Kātyāyana was an eminent jurist and he has been referred to with reverence as an authority on the several branches of Dharmaśāstra by almost all the Nibandhakāras, beginning from Viśvarūpa. The majority of the citations from the lost work of Kātyāyana are from the Vyavahāra section of his work, and they cover almost all aspects of Vyavahāra. Among the topics discussed, that relating to the rights of women is likely to interest the modern reader much more than others. Kātyāyana shows himself to be a great champion of woman's rights to own property and deal with it as she liked. Mr. Kane's comparison of the rules of Kātyāyana with the Institutes of Justinian reveal to what extent the Roman Law is behind those of Kātyāyana. The rules of the latter are found to be more equitable and more logical than those of Justinian.

Regarding the date and identity of Kātyāyana one thing is certain *i.e.* that he is earlier than the oldest nibandhakāra. It is also certain that he is later than Bṛhaspati and Manu for these sages are referred to by name in the extracts that are collected. Mr. Kane wants to make out that he is later than Kauṭilya but this point does not carry conviction. Mr. Kane, distinguishes between the Kātyāyana referred to by Yājñavalkya and the jurist, extracts from whose work, are collected in the work under notice;

and is of the opinion that this Kātyāyana should have written between 300 and 600 A. D. This date seems to be a late one for the Jurist; very probably he is older.

Among the works consulted by the author from which extracts are taken we miss several important works like the Madanaratnapradīpa, Akhaṇḍādarśa, Smṛtimañjarī. It is certainly difficult to expect one to exhaust all the available literature on the subject, especially in view of the fact that new works are being discovered every day. When a need for a second edition of this work is felt, it is hoped that other works will also be consulted. We are grateful to the author for this important and very useful publication. We wish that other scholars will follow up his example by restoring other lost works in a similar manner.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

# SELECT OPINIONS

**Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.**—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

**L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.**—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

**J. Jolly, Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.**—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

**O. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Kiel University, 1st January, 1927**—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Reasearch I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

**Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January, 1927.**—Your excellent Issue.

**F. O. Schrader, Kiel, 9th January, 1927.**—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory. . . . . . . . . . A journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

**Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.**— . . . . . This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly written articles: a pretty start!

**"Bombay Chronicle," 12th December, 1926.**— . . . . . . . . The Quality of scholarship displayed is of a high order.

**"Indian Review," November, 1927.**—We welcome this new Quarterly of Oriental Research. . . . . . . . . . . . . . The influence of Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, has been ceaselessly exercised in furthering the cause of such learning. . . . . . .

**"New India," 20th December, 1926.**— . . . . . . . . . . The design and the get-up of the Journal is very good, and we recommend the Journal to all lovers of research and scholarship.

**"Hindu," 9th February, 1927.**— . . . . The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

**"Madras Mail," 21st January, 1927.**— . . . . . . . . . . . . The contributions are from persons who have specialised in particular branches and show striking evidence of original work. . . . .

**Dr. Sylvain Levi, Paris.**— . . . . . It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards.

**Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.**— . . . . I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions. . . . .

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